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**TO THE RIGHT HO-
NOVRABLE, SIR JOHN FOR-**

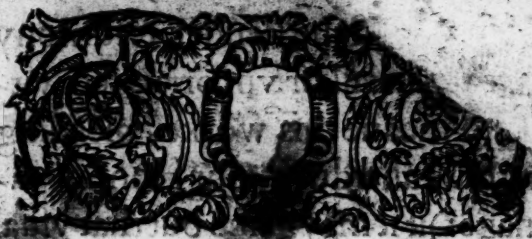
tescue Knight, Chauncellor of the Exchequer,
Maister of the great Wardrobe, and one of
her Maiesties most honourable private
Counsell.

Wm. La. de Bracton. 1543.

Ight Honourable, among
the multitudes of affec-
tions that do most wor-
thily loue you, I present
my least ability (though managed
with an intent of absolute indenuor)
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tention with, but an equall counter-
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Epistle Dedicatory.

of in the slender testimony
vnpartiall or vncorrupted wit-
nesse (I meane this worke, pleading
from loue and duty your Honors pa-
tronage:) if it may gaine but that vsual
& accustomed acceptance that your
bounty hath vouchafed to dispose to
each ordinary well willing affection,
I shal rest furnished with a right plea-
sing content, deriuing the same from
your noble disposition, which is euery
way rather inclined to fauour than
sinister construction. The worke it
selfe doth carry an absolute commen-
dation without my praise, being in
worth and desert, speaker for the Au-
thour: Albeit not to derogate from
his deseruing, the worke is simply
of it selfe a very profitable, & no lesse
politicall discourse, which is inioined
by

The Epistle Dedicatorie

by my true meaning
plead only for your Honours
ued sould allowance, not in the wor
perfection, but in my intire and duti-
full meanings resolution, which
is the aime of my thoughts
in my now intended de-
fire, euer resting

Your Honors in all duties of affection

A. I.





James Bradbys Book of Before

The Printer to the courteous Reader.

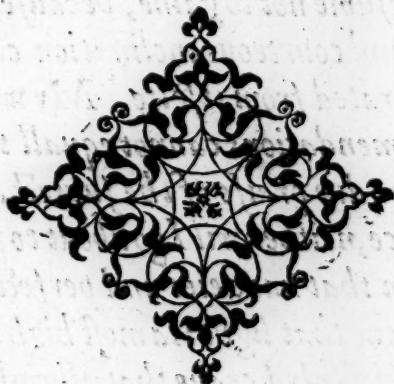


Good Reader, I doe present thee my loue by another mans worke : entreating thy esteeme of the one, as of my sincere affection; and of the other, as of a very sufficient payne to giue thee security that I meane good wil. The discourse (I doubt not) will giue full satisfaction to expectations contentment, being of it selfe worthy of all ingenious wits esteeme, furnished with graue policie, approued with probable argument, vary-

varying necessary and profitable
 tions, and ending found plausible con-
 sions. My good will, charge, and paines,
 haue all united in one consent to yeeld
 thee contentment, delight, & profit. The
 recompence that I craue of thee shall not
 be ouerchargeable, further then volun-
 tary kindnesse will freely vouchsafe to
 extend, lesse than which, of good natures
 I presume not to gaine, because an affa-
 ble and courteous inclination cannot be
 separated from it selfe. My words and
 commendations cannot equall this work
 in the due praise of the subiect and sub-
 stance, neither wil I go about to persua-
 de them that haue eies and perfect sight, to
 beleue that light is a most high esteemed
 obiect: Only I craue that all right censu-
 ring iudgements doe retaine their owne
 vertues,

To the Reader.

and neither derogate from the
inesse of the one, nor the intirewil-
nesse of the other, and so I recom-
mend thee to a fauourable censure
of both, wishing thee the at-
taining of thy best
wishes.





The Mirrour of Policie.

What Policie is, and how many
sorts of Politicke gouernment there are:

Policie is deriued from
the Greeke woord πολιτεια,
which in our tongewe may
tearme Ciuitie: and that
which the Grecians did name
Politicke gouernement, the
Latines called, the Gouernment of a Com-
monweale, or Ciuile societie.

All Citties and ciuile societies are ordained
to attaine vnto some good, for all they that en-
ter into league and confederation of societies,
they doe it to purchase vnto themselves that
good which seemeth vnto them to bee either
profitable, pleasant, or honest. Here hence fol-

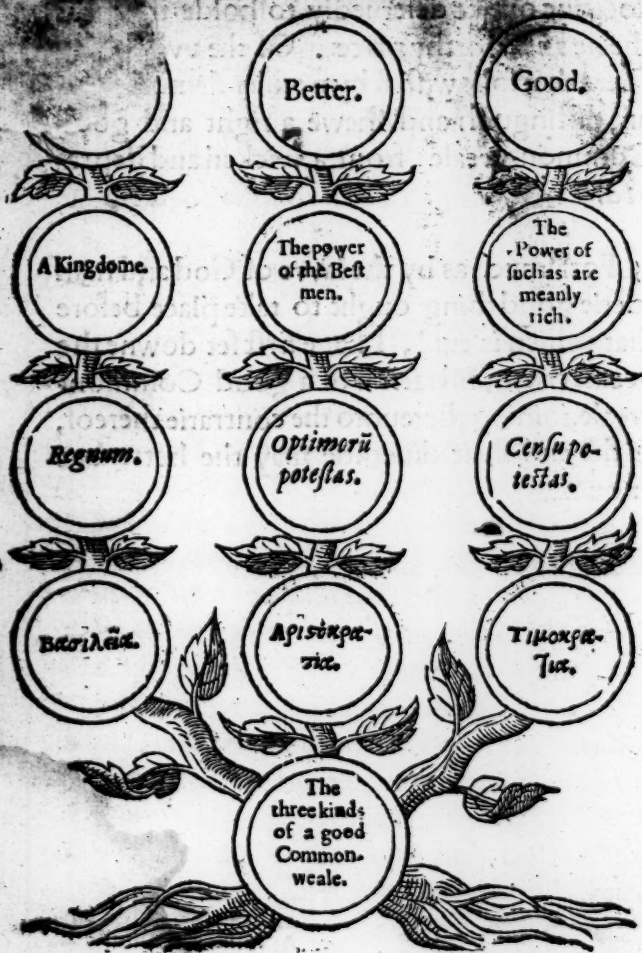
in this necessary conclusion, that all Cities
and ciuill societies are ordained for some good:
and there is no societie but doth deeme, that in
their assembling together, they may attain vn-
to some good. Now if euerie societie aimeth at
that vvhich is good, surely the best and grea-
test societie pretendeth to attaine vnto the best
and greatest good. Forasmuch then as a Cittie
(vvhich is the vnity of the citizens) is the most
perfect societie of all others, because it inclu-
deth in it selfe, and containeth in the parts ther-
of all other societies, it followeth consequently
that a Cittie amongst all other societies pre-
tendeth to attaine to the greatest and cheefest
good.

Moreouer, in as much as that vvhich is a
common and vniuersall benefite to all men,
ought to bee helde of more account then that
vvhich extendeth it selfe but to the good of
some priuate persons; It followeth, that to dis-
pose a Cittie by good politicke order, dooth
merite more then to rule a house after the best
Oeconomicall gouernement: for the good or-
der in housekeeping profiteth only the master
of the houshold, or his particular family, but
the politicke ordering of a Cittie is auailable
to all: so that it may be cōcluded, that amongst
all the precepts of Morall Philosophie, politick
doctrine

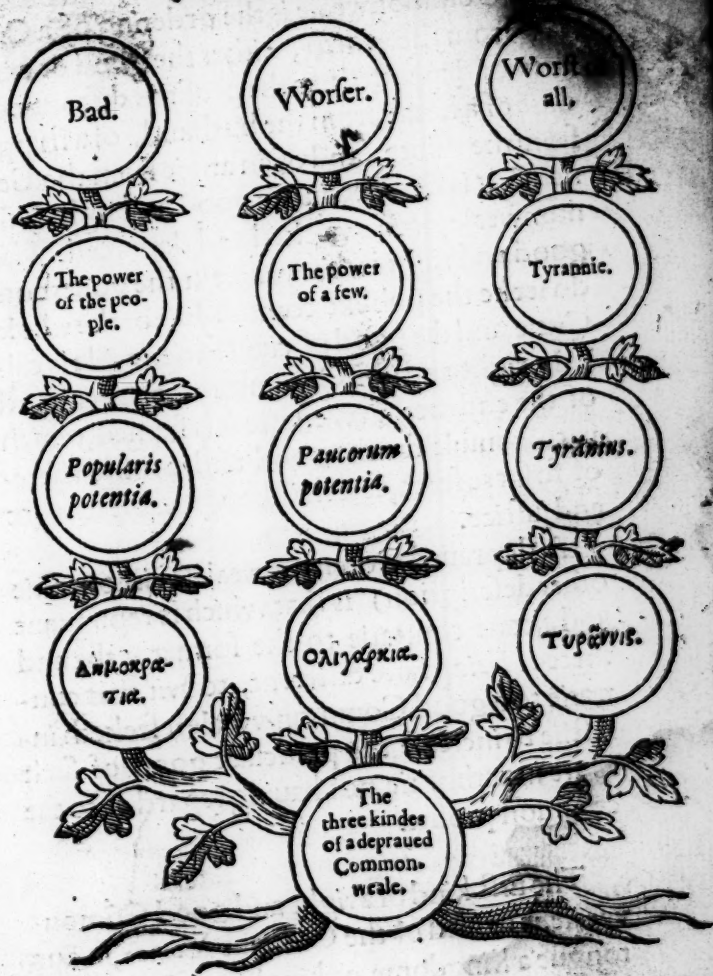
doctrine ought deseruedly to holde the
cheefe and vvorthy place . Of the vvwhich
Trees that follow,shal by occuler demonstrati-
on, distinguish and shewe a right and good
Common-vveale, from a vvicked and depra-
ued.

Forasmuch as by the lawe of God and man
euerie good thing ought to take place before
that vvwhich is euill, I haue first set downe the
occuler demonstration of a good Common-
vveale,ioining thereunto the contrarie thereof,
to the end their diuersitie may the better bee
knowne.

The Mirrour of Politie,



The Mirrour of Policie.



A Commonweale is the ordering of a Citie, from the vvhich, either the good or euill thereof dependeth: as the profit or discommoditie of a house, from the husband, of a shippe from the Pilote, and of an armie from the Generall. It is deuided into a good and right Cōmonweale, or to a vvicked and depraued. The good and right is that vvherein the gouernors do seeke the publike commoditie of the whole Cittie, and the good of ciuill societie. It is called a right and iust Common-weale, in regard of the end therof vvhervnto it is framed, which is to consult for the good and profite thereof so farre forth, as it shall be agreeable to right and iustice.

A depraued Commonvveale (vvithout anie other description) is that vvhich is repugnant and cleane contrarie to the former, the end thereof being farre different, to vvitt, that contrarie to a good Common-vveale it seeketh iniustlie to increase the particular good of such as are in authoritie, not hauing regard vnto the common profite.

The first kind of a right and good Cōmonvveale, is named of the Grecians βασιλεια, in our tongue a Kingdome, or kingly power. In this kind of Commonvveale, the King or Monarch
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onely hath preheminence, vwho directeth all his thoughts for the common good, preferring alwaies the publike profite before his own priuat commoditie. Aristotle in the eleuenth chapter of his third booke of Politickes, disputing of this matter, maketh a comparison of the gouernment of a particular house, vnto a kingdome or Cittie: For like as in the house of a good husband, set in good order, there is but one head and maister, vvhom vve call the father of the household, So in this kind of Common-veale, the king is as a father of a familie in his kingdome or Cittie and ought to rule ouer his subiects and Cittizens vvith such loue & care, as a father ouer his children, othervvise hee loseth the precious and royall name of king, and in stead thereof purchaseth to himselfe the title of a Tyrant, vvwhich is odious both to God and man. Of this vvord Tyrant, tyrannie is deriued, vvwhich is the first kind of a depraued Commō-veale, as vve vvill shewe in the demonstration following. *Agasicles* king of the Lacedemonians, being asked howe a king might raighe safely and vvithout danger of his person, not hauing need of any guard or armed men about him for the securitie of his bodie, made this vvise answer, If a Prince or soueraigne (quoth he) vvill raighe ouer his subiects as the father of

a familie doth ouer his children, hee shall need no guard : for the father vseth his children with more clemencie than seueritie: The like whereof euery good king ought to practise towards his subiects, if he desire to winne their loue and fauour.

The Philosopher *Chilon*, was wont to say, That euerie ruler ought to be meeke and gentle, and labour that his subiects do rather loue than feare him. *Cicero* affirmeth, that a good king is necessarily beloued of his subiects, and hath no need of any other weapons for his defence, than their good will & friendship, which is more auailable and of more force, than to be guarded by armed men. *Seneca* the Stoicke Philosopher, in his book of Clemencie, which he writ vnto *Nero* that Romane Emperor and Monster of mankinde; sheweth, that a king, Prince, or Emperour, neede not build any fortresses, castles, or bulwarkes for the safegard of his person : for the vertue of Clemencie (if he haue skill to vse it) will bee sufficient to keepe him safe, into what place soeuer he goe, or where soeuer hee be. For the loue of subiects towards their Prince, is an inuincible fortresse. And that I may a little touch that question which hath beene so often debated, Whether it be more agreeable to Nature, and more profitable to mankind,

mankind, to liue vnder the gouernement of one alone, or vnder the authoritie of many, I will in as fewe wordes as I may, handle the matter.

Some haue held, that to liue vnder the rule of one King, or Prince, is a dangerous thing, in as much as it is a matter very difficult, here in this world, to finde one so perfect in euerie respect, as is fit and cōuenient for him that taketh that name vpon him. Moreouer, put case that it were possible, and that hee were of such perfection as were to be desired; notwithstanding, it is verie dangerous, and to be feared (considering the frailetie of man, and the great libertie that kings haue to doe what they list, whether it bee good or euill, and the great power that they haue to execute what so their will leade them vnto) that in succession of time they grow not worse, & of kings become Tyrants: Which is euident by many examples written by many approoued Authours, amongst which I will recite some, fit and appliable to the matter I entreat of. *Nero*, the first fife years of his Empire was so vertuous and gentle, that the Senate and people of Rome did repute themselves happy to liue vnder the gouernement of so good a Prince. But after wards hee changed his manner of life, and fell into the deepe gulfe of vickednesse,

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nelle,

nesse, so that he was named (as I said before) the
Monster of mankind. *Caligula* in like sort be-
gan vertuousslie, and ended viciousslie, as *Tibe-
rius* did, by the report of *Tranquillus*, & others.
Now they that liue vnder the gouernement of
manie, it is not likely, that all of them should
proue wicked, or if some one of them do, those
which are good, would curbe and bridle him:
As the Ephori did the kings of Lacedemonia.
Such are the conclusions of those, that holde
this opinion, that it is not so dangerous to liue
vnder the rule of many, as of one alone: who
may more easily change his nature, being a
Monarch or only Lord, commanding ouer o-
thers, then many would doe in an Aristocrati-
call gouernement, when as manie are chosen
together to be as Lords and Gouernours ouer
other, to rule the Commonweale as the Areo-
pagites in Athens, the Ephorie in Lacedemo-
nia, the Senate at Rome. That learned man *Cas-
par Contarinius* in his historie of Venice, rehear-
seth a memorable history of a Duke of Venice,
named *Martin Phaetrus*, vwho some two hun-
dred yeares since, in regard of his vertues was
chosen to be their Gouernour. But afterwards
he changed his nature, in such sort, that the con-
spiracie of manie Noble men of that Cittie ha-
ving secret intelligence with him, he determined

to change his authoritie into tyrannie, which greatly amased the whole Commonweale, but by the foresight of the Senate, their conspiracie vvas discouered, and for his offence, he was with his confederates, condemned and beheaded. And vvhereas the Senate vvas vvont to erect & set vp the Images of their Dukes in order in some place in the Senate house, it vvas decreed by the Senate, that the place vvhether the picture of the saied Duke should haue beene set, should remaine void, and in steade thereof an inscription, declaring the enormitie of his offence hung vp, vvhich vvas of this substance :

*If with these worthies, his desert had claimed,
With them in honour should he haue ben placed;
They countries good, he countries ruine aimed;
By fame they liue, by shame he dy'de disgraced.
None ioine with these but honour, praise, and fame,
He makes abode with base contempt and shame.*

To make their side more strong, they which speake against Monarchie, doe further say, that albeit that by the consent of vvise men, principallitie is by them esteemed the best kinde of Common-weale: Neuerthelesse, Experience, vvhich is the Mistrresse of Sciences, doth shewe

vs, that kings and Monarchs are depraued, and of good become wicked: As vve may learne by the example of *Saule*, king of the Hebrues, who in a short time changed his manner of vertuous life. Likewise they affirme, it is a matter very difficult, to find a King that vwill not become a tyrant; as appeareth by the speech of the High Priest *Samuel* vsed vnto the people of Israel by the expresse commandement of God, where he reciteth the greater part of tyrannies which Kings are vvoont to vse, as may appeare in the first booke of Kings, the eight chapter. And who so vwould on the contrarie side argue, that a multitude and pluralitie is vnapt to gouerne, and that therefore Aristotle said, That plurality of principalities is euil; I answere and confesse, that multitude of Gouernours is not fit: vvhich ought to be vnderstood, vvhereas such a multitude is not reduced vnto vnitie. For necessarily it behoueth, that pluralitie in government be brought to vnity, as the strings of a Harpe reduced to one harmony. In one hand there are many fingers, yet are they all vnited to discharge the office of the hand. When as the government of many is vnited in one vwill, then vwithout doubt the Commonweale shall flourish, as is manifest in the state of Venice, vvhich hath lasted aboute these two hundred. yeares,

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firm and in safetie, and is at this day more mightie and rich then euer it was: And yet neuerthelesse, it is vpheld by three different sorts of gouernment: For in some matters of small moment, it is ruled by the gouernment of the people, in matters of more importance by the Senate and Magnificos, and by the principality of one, to wit, their Duke, who reduceth into vnitie, as vvell the people as the Senate; and after this manner the said Commonweale flourisheth. Those diuerse kinds of gouernments being vnited together, and to say the truth, scarce is the like Common-weale to be found, both by the report of *Caspar Contarinus*, as also of *Machiuele*, vvhich may vvell be verified by the long continuance thereof: vvhich vwithout doubt, proceedeth of the agreement between the people and the Senate, vnder the Monarchie of their Duke. This temperature is the cause that those seditions and partialities are not seene in Venice, vvhich doe daily spring in other Commonweales in Italy.

But to returne to our principall matter, notwithstanding the reasons before alleadged, the common consent of all Philosophers doth hold this as resolu'd, that amongst the three kinds of a good Commonweale, Principality is the

The Mirrour of Policie

only best and most assured : For therein one alone doth bear rule, vwho either doth or ought excell all others in vertue, who by his singuler prouidence and princely care, thinketh on nothing els, but how hee may profite the Commonwealth, and vnto him all men doe yeeld obedience : Yea he is the marke, at the vvhich all his subiects doe aime, as the Poet *Claudius* vvriteth to the Emperour *Theodosius*. In the other two kinds of Commonweale, many doe together hold the principalitie, many haue the vvhole managing of the Commonweale. In nature, one is before two, and Pluralitie is but a multiplication of vnities. Therefore one only Prince and Soueraigne ought to be preferred before the gouernment of many: vvhere manie do gouerne, there are many vices, murmurings, dissentions, treasons, priuy harred, and hidden enmitie, vvwhich cannot be vvhe the soueraignty belongeth vnto one only. Moreouer, the principality of one is more conformable and agreeing vnto the diuine and highest Monarchy of God (vvho ruleth ouer all things) than the commandement of many. It is God (as the Apostle faith) vvho is king of Kings, and Lord of lords, vvwhose power stretcheth ouer all things both celestially, terrestially, and infernal, ruling and gouerning them by his diuine prouidence. We
may

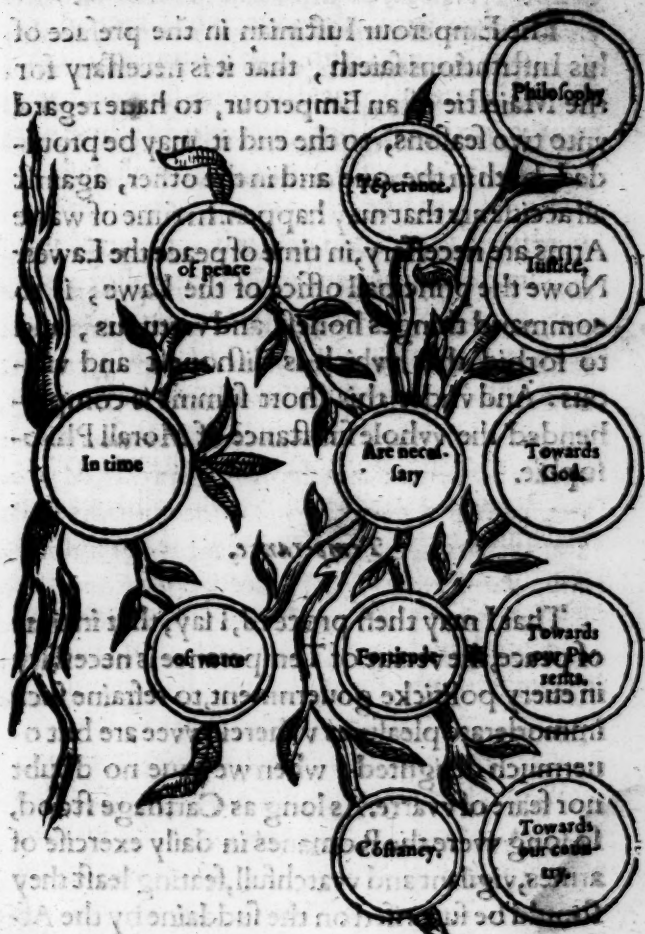
may then conclude by that which is alreadie
said, that the soueraignty of one alone is better,
more assured, and more durable than the go-
uernment of many. But yet that I may proceed
further, we see that Nature, or rather God him-
selfe, hath after a sort expressed this royall kind
of gouernmēt, as wel in things sensible (though
not partakers of reason) as in things without
life: The Bees being gouerned and pricked for-
ward by an instinct of Nature, haue one only
king, vnder whose authority they go to warre,
dispose of their affaires, and liue in society to-
gether, acknowledging one king as their only
Generall and Gouvernour, as we may read in
Uaro, Virgil, Collumella, Palladius, Constantine,
Cesar, and other Authours who haue written
of Husbandry: what shall I say more, if we look
vp vnto the heauens, do not we see one Sunne
beare rule and principality ouer the rest of the
starres? do not we see that vnity is the begin-
ning of number, and that after we haue made a
long reckoning, and cast vp our account, we
returne to one totall summe? What might this
signifie, that amongst all things created, we shal
alwaies find some one to haue preheminance
aboue the rest of the same kind; as amongst rea-
sonable creatures man, amongst beasts the Ly-
on, amongst birds the Eagle, amongst graines.

Collum

of corne, Wheat; of drinckes, Wine; of Aromaticall things, Balme; amongst mettals, Gold; amongst the elements, the fire. These naturall demonstrations doe teach vs; that amongst all the kinds of Commonweales, Principality and Roial gouernement is the best.

The second kind of a right and good Common-weale, is called in Greeke *Αριστοκρατία*, the power of the most good men: and this kind taketh place when a few men that are vertuous and approued for their wisdom and integrity, do gouerne the Commonweale: bending all their thoughts for the common profit, & preferring it before their priuate commodity. In Latine they are called *Optimates*, in as much as they are esteemed to be amongst others, the best and most vertuous. This kind of Commonweale next vnto Principallitie, is the best: which as is said, hath the preheminence aboue all others.

Now in these two kinds of Commonweale,
we are to consider that



The Emperour Iustinian in the preface of his Institutions saith, that it is necessary for the Maiestie of an Emperour, to haue regard vnto two seasons, to the end it may be prouided, both in the one and in the other, against all accidents that may happen. In time of warre Arms are necessary, in time of peace the Lawes: Nowe the principall office of the Lawe, is to command things honest and vertuous, and to forbid that which is dishonest and vicious. And vnder this short summe is comprehended the vvhole substance of Morall Philosophie.

Temperance.

That I may then proceed, I say, that in time of peace, the vertue of Temperance is necessary in euery politicke gouernment, to refraine such immoderate pleasures vvherein vvee are but ouermuch delighted, when we haue no doubt nor feare of vvarre. As long as Carthage stood, so long vvere the Romanes in daily exercise of armes, vigilant and vwatchfull, fearing least they should be surprised on the suddaine by the Africans: But so soone as it vvas overcome,

brought

brought to ruine and razed by the decree of the Senate (contrary to the opinion of *Scipio Nasica*) the youth of Rome being at liberty, & freed from all care and feare of warre, let loose the bridle of pleasure, and hauing no stranger to exercise armes against, they conuerted them against their owne bowels. And that this is true, not long after the destruction of Carthage, there followed ciuile warres and seditions, as of *Scilla* against *Marine*, of *Cesar* against *Pompey*, and such like, verifying the saying of *Horace*, That Rome would by hir owne proper forces, runne to ruine. *Lucan* in the *Pharsalian* warre, complaineth, that the Romanes in their ciuile broiles turned their owne weapons into their owne entrailes, vwhereasthey should haue sheathed them in the bodies of the Parthians their capital enemies. The Satyrical Poet greatly lamenteth, that long peace had done more harme vnto Rome, then the continuance of warre: For vwarre no sooner ceased, but all common pleasures entred in steade thereof: vvhich pleasures so effeminated and withdrew their minds from warre, that the vworld then in subiection to the Romanes, sufficiently reuenged themselves of them.

Lycurgiu, that great Lawgiuer amongst the

Lacedemonians, is highly to be commended for the vertue of Temperance, banishing from his Commonweale all occasions of gluttonie, all daintinesse of wines, and (to speak more generally) al allurements to pleasure, in matter of diet, which are wont to make the body effeminate, as was proued in *Hannibal*, who in taking his delight in Pouilla, after the victory hee obtained at Cannas, he let slip the opportunity to take Rome. The said *Lycurgus*, amongst other lawes, ordained that they should eat in publick view, and that especiall note should be taken, if any of the Citizens were ouer-curious and dainty in his fare, which was afterwards obserued by the Romanes, after they had brought their Commonweale into order, by the lawes called *Leges Sumptuariae*. Whilest that the name of Pouerty was honoured at Rome (which was the space of 400 yeares after the foundation thereof) Pleasure could neuer set foot, nor take any roost there: but after that Pouterie began to be contemned and held as vile, and the offices and dignities bestowed onely vpon rich men, Pleasure began to possesse the hearts of the Romane youth, yea so farre forth, that vertue immediatly tooke flight, and being lost, their Commonweale immediately fell to ruine.

Many auncient Authors, do giue good testimony of the auncient Romane pouerty, as *Pliny*, *Plutarke*, *Valerius*, and others: but the contented poore life is rather to be attributed to the Grecians then to the Romanes, and specially to their Philosophers, as *Democritus*, *Cratylus*, *Zeno*, and *Diogenes Sinecus*, as we may read in *Diogenes Laertius*, in his history of the Grecian Philosophers. Amongst the Romanes,

Q. Cincinnatus deserueth to be set in the first rancke of those that contented themselves with a poore kind of life, who possessing only foure acres of ground, & a little cottage in the country, liuing by his labour, and contenting himselfe with his vertue and pouertie, was from the plough, chosen to be Dictator. *Fabricius* did eat with more delight and with more appetite in his earthen dishes, than *Dennis* the Tyrant in his golden vessels. *Seranus* was a mirrour of contented pouerty, and so was *Attilius*. What riches did *Emilius Scaurus* possesse, the most renowned Senatour of his time? what wealth had *Paulus*, who triumphed ouer *Perseus*? he was so poore in his rich dignity, that after his death, his substance was not sufficient to restore his wife her dowry.

The daughter of *Gneius Scipio* was endowed with the publicke treasure. *Menenius Agrippa*,

and *Publicola* were left so poor, that they were buried without any pompe, which was a matter accustomed to be done vnto those, vwho in their life had obtained the dignity of Consulship. By this discourse may be gathered, howe by succession of time the maners of men came to be corrupted, and so consequently Commonweales, albeit that at the first they were well ordered, and the Cittizens well gouerned. Who soeuer will compare the sparing of *Fabius*, with the excesse and gluttony of the Emperor *Nellus*, will wonder at the corruption of maners, the one contenting himselfe to feed on Cabbage, and the other being not satisfied at one meale to haue his table furnished with two thousand fishes, and seuen thousand sorts of foule and birds. I omit to speake of the banquets and feasts of *Lucullus*, of *Caius Caligula*, of *Heliogabalus*, and of *Marcus Antonius*, who should especially alledge, considering the time he liued in with *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, who according to the report of *Pliny* and of *Plutarch*, caused pearles of inestimable value to be melted in vineger, to feede more daintily. Wherefore I may well say, that *Lycurgus* did with reason forbid all superfluity of meat in his Commonweale, and all pompe in apparel, all sweet smells, perfumes, and ointments, and

and all such like enticements of pleasure.

obobeth, thail m...
know his nois... *Iustice.*

Iustice is alwaies necessary, but especially in
time of peace, to bridle men from doing euill,
and to the end that a Citie or Commonweale
be not a denne of robbers and theues. *Iustice*
may be vnderstood, either as it is a speciall and
generall vertue, or for a vniuersall perfection.
As concerning the first, *Iustice* is a cardinall
vertue, according vnto the vvhich, right is done *in iust*
to euery man. *S. Ambrose* in his booke of offices
saith: That *Iustice* is that vvhich yeeldeth to e-
uery man that vvhich is his, not coueting that
vvhich belongeth to another. Being taken in
the second sence, *Iustice* is no other thing then
an vniuersall perfection of vertue, vvithout spot
of iniquity. *S. Hierome* vvriting to *Demetrius*,
saith: That all kinds of vertue are contained vnder
the only name of *Iustice*. *Plutarch* reporteth,
that *Theopompus* being demaunded by vvhath
meanes a king might assure his estate, answered:
That kingdome shall be safe and durable,
and that king invincible, if he maketh the ver-
tuous men of his kingdome, partakers of his
dignity, and that he do not bestow the politick
administration of any office to any but to such
as are learned and vertuous, yea to such as haue
of

of long time ben trained vp in vertue and be-
sides that, in as much as in him lieth, he doe de-
fend his subiects from oppression and vwrong.

Likewise Leo being asked in what Cittie in
all Greece a man might make choice of to dwell
most safely therein, made this answer: That
the Cittie of most safety, was that wherein Ju-
stice was inuiolably kept, and whereas the ver-
tuous were maintained and rewarded; and the
vicious punished. Saint *Augustine* saith, That
kingdomes and Common-weales are dennes
and receptacles of theues, if Iustice raigneth
not in them.

Philosophie.

Philosophie in time of peace hath her pecu-
lier exercise, for vvhē vve are exempt from trou-
ble of vvar, the mind is quiet and fit for all ho-
nest recreation, vvhich I vnderstand to consist
in the studie of learning, which by reason is to
be preferred before al other kinds of businesse:
Plato, surnamed the Diuine, was yvooont to say;
That Commonweals were happy, when as ei-
ther kings were Philosophers, or Philosophers
did beare rule. And that this is true, all famous
and flourishing Commonweales haue drawne
their Lawes from the fountaines of Philoso-
phie.

The Mirrour of Politie

From whence had the Athenians their laws, but from the Philosopher *Solon*? The Lacedemonians, but from *Lycurgus*? the Mitilenians, but from *Pittacus*? the Crotoniales, but from *Pithagoras*? the Scythians, but from *Amcharsis*? The Romans Commonweale, had it not Princes, Dictators, Consuls, Senators, Tribunes, (& after the Consulship) Emperours endued with all kind of learning? What Philosophy was in *Iulius Caesar*, *Augustus*, *Traian*, *Adrian*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Alexander Severus*? dooth not the wise man say in the eight of his Prouerbes, By me kings do raigne, and by me Lawmakers do decree and ordaine that which is iust?

Fortitude.

After the declaration of the three titles containing the vertues necessary in time of peace, it followeth consequently, that we are to handle the other two that are necessary in time of warre, to wit, Fortitude, and Constancy. Fortitude hath many definitions, as well by moral Philosophers, as by Diuines: but that which serueth best to our purpose, is that which Saint Thomas setteth downe in his Commentaries vpon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Hebrues, where he saith that Fortitude is a vertue which tempereth and reduceth feare and audacious-

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nesse to mediocritie, and that for the benefit of the Commonweale. Fortitude is a staiednesse and constancie of heart to sustaine or repulse things that are hard to beare. *S. Hierosme* in his Commentaries vpon *Joell*, saith: That the part of a stout man is not to be astonied and cast downe in aduersity, nor to bee ouer-haughtie-minded in prosperitie; but to moderate and bring both the one and the other within the square of mediocritie. *Saint Ambrose* writing to *Simplicius*, saith: That foolish men are changeable like vnto the moone, but a wise man is not astonied through feare, nor altered through violence, nor cast downe with sorrow, nor proud with prosperitie.

Fortitude exerciseth her office, especially in three things, towards God, towards our Parents, and towards our Country. As concerning the first, wee read in the holy Scripture, that *Dauid* being as yet in the spring of his age, only armed with slue stones, and a sheepeherds sling, with full confidence in God (who was his principall and cheefe shield and buckler) through the vertue of Fortitude, took courage to assaile the horrible and fearefull Giant *Goliath*, with his armour and club, whome hee did overcome disarmed, and to conclude, slue him.

By

By which we may consider what courage God giueth to those that trust in him.

As touching the second, vvhich is the exercise of Fortitude towards our parents: the yong Romane Knight *Emilius Lepidus*, in the conflict vvhich was betweene the Romanes and *Hannibal*, neare vnto Tesin, seeing his father taken and vvhounded, tooke such courage to succour him, that he deliuered him from the danger, either of death or captiuitie, killing him that had vvhounded and taken his father: for vvhich act, as an example of Fortitude vnto posterity, an Image was in publicke place at Rome set vp for him, by the sight and consideration thereof, to draw the youth of Rome to his imitation, and to be constant and stout in the defence of their Parents.

As concerning the exercise of Fortitude towards our country, the memorable example of *Leonides* king of the Spartanes may suffice, vvhom (as *Iustine* reporteth) being only accompanied with 400 men, in the straight of *Thermopyles*, resisted by the space of three daies an infinite multitude of *Xerxes*, the king of Persia: his army, and perswaded himselfe rather to die in glory for the defence of his country, than to liue and see his people brought into seruitude and subiection.

Now to deſcend vnto the declaration of Conſtancie, we ought to vnderſtand, that Coſtancie is a vertue to be required at al times, but principally in vvar, vwhen as the accidents that happen are more horrible then in time of peace, in regard, that law is not in vigour and force, according to the ſaying of *Marins*, affirming that the noiſe of armour did ſo trouble him, that he could not heare the lawes. Conſtancie therefore is a vertue, that cauſeth a man to perſiſt in that vvhich is good againſt the difficulty of all externall lets. Conſtancie according to the morall Philoſophers, is a firme ſtaiednes of courage, perſeuering in that vvhich is propoſed. The Lion is eſteemed to haue preheminance in ſtrength aboue all beaſts, to vvhō Nature hath ſo framed the necke, that it cannot bow neither to one ſide nor to another, but by conſtraint is alwaies carried ſtraight and ſtiffe. It is vvritten of the Elephant, that it hath no ioint in his legs, ſo that hee cannot bow them any way. The Cipreſſe tree aboue all others, commeth neereſt to the likeneſſe and forme of a piller, and beſides it hath this propertie, that it boweth not vnder a burthen, but vvhē any thing is laid vpon it, it forceth the burthen vpwards,

wards, and groweth higher, more vpright, and strong vnder the weight, as both the Grecians, Latines, and Barbarians doe report, vwho haue vvritten of the nature & vertue of plants. These similitudes doe aduertise vs to be firme & constant in all our aduersities. Such constancy the Machabees were endued vvithall, as vvee may read in their histories. Many Grecians, Latines, and Barbarians, are praised for this vertue: but aboue all others, the Saints and holy Martirs deserue commendation, vvho constantly indured diuerse intollerable kind of torments, yea euen death it selfe, for the maintaining of their faith. *Seneca* the Stoick, exhorteth vs to this vertue of Constancy, in his 107 Epistle, in these vvords: That vve ought not to be amased, nor wonder at the suddaine chances that do befall vs, but we ought rather to apply our minds to all aduentures that may fall out, premeditating that vve are borne to beare them, and that nothing can happen, but that beforehand it is ordained and decreed it shall befall. It is a thing conuenient to suffer that constantly vvich cannot bee auoided nor shunned by any humane force, vvich wee may doe vvell, in submitting our selues to the vvill of God, of vvhd all things doe depend. Let vs then endure patiently, and suffer constantly that vvich happeneth vnto

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vs, in as much as vvee haue neither the power nor the skill to resist it. Let vs follow our King constantly, and maintaine his quarrell, and not imitate the cowardly knight, vvho followed his Prince to the vvarre vveeping. Destinies (sayth one) do lead those that consent, vvillingly; and draw the obstinate by force. To make short, I omit to speake of the constancie of *Socrates*, of *Dyon*, of *Phocion*, of *Alexander the great*, and (to come vnto the Romans) of *Q Scauola*, of *Metellus*, of *Fabius*, of *Fulvius*, of the two brethren of *Gracchi*, vvho suffered death for the law *Agraria*, and others, vvho through their constancie (in despight of the iniury of Time) shall liue for euer.

Now to returne to our first purpose following the declaration of our first tree, the third kind of a good and right Common-vveale, is that vvvhich the Greekes call *Τιμοκρατια*, and the Latines *Censu potestas*. This kind in times past peculiarly obtained the name of a Common-vveale, vvvhich may be vnderstood two manner of vvaies: First in that, vvherein the authority of gouerning, consisteth in the multitude of men of meane calling, affecting and conseruing the estate of the Citie in mediocritie: I doe in this place by men of mean calling, vnderstand such as hold a meane between the rich and the poor, the

the noble and ignoble (vvhom the French doe ordinarily and in contempt call Villaines) and such as by abundance and superfluity, wee cannot tearme rich, nor by vvant, poore : That is, such as haue neither attained so high a degree to be called vvealthie, nor are of so base estate, to be tearmed poore. The common maxime of all morall Philosophers is, that vertue consisteth in Mediocrity, & vice in Extremity: which the Poet *Horace* hath set downe in many places of his vvorkes. The meane estate of a Cittie is that vvhich is placed in the middle betweene a high calling, and a base vocation, which is as a vertuous temperature betweene two vicious extremities. This kind of Common-vveale for the most part taketh place in small Citties, which albeit it is not vvealthy and magnificent, yet is it so much more quiet, and of long continuance, vvhilest it maintaineth it selfe in Mediocrity.

Secondly, this kind hath particularly obtained the name of Commonvveale, as it may generally bee giuen to all other kinds, vvwhether they be good or bad, and this kind is nothing els but a temper of the power of a fewe, and a popular gouernment, vvwhich two gouernmēts are kinds of a depraued Commonvveale, as shal be more amplie declared in the Commentaries

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aries of the second tree. For the power of a few hath especially no other respect but to the fauour of such as are rich and mightie: and popular authoritie (on the contrarie) hath no other regard, but to the fauor of the poore: and (as we may see by experience) in euery Commonweal or Communalitie, there are alwaies without comparison, more of the poorer sort, than of rich men. But this kind (if it keepeth Mediocritie) hath regard as vvell to the poore, as to the rich. And in as much as Riches and Pouertie, (vvhen they are in extremitie) do bring a Commonvveale to ruin, vve must needs vphold Mediocritie, to the vvch the Poet *Horace* vvould no richer, nor more noble Epitheton, than to tearme it Golden. Now, as amongst sharpe thorns, the sweet Rose is gathered: so between the two kinds of a depraued Commonvveale, to vvit, Oligarchie, and Democratie, this commonvveale Timocratie is founded: vvch may bee compared to the Rose. In simple and vncompounded commonvveales, vve may vnderstand such as are mixed and compounded: and in one citie or commonvveale may bee found Monarchie, Aristocratie, and Timocratie; as we may see in the common-vveale of Venice, vvch is framed of the three kinds of a good common-weale, which through their good

counsell and prudent aduise, they doe so well mingle together, that their Common-weale flourisheth more at this day then euer it did, as *Contarminus* dooth at large declare in his Historie.

Now, in as much as we liue vnder a Monarchie and kingly gouernement, it shall not bee farre out of the way to handle this question, which hath beene long since debated by manie good Authours, to wit, Whether it bee better to elect and chuse Kings to gouerne, or whether it were more conuenient they should rule by lineall discent and Hereditarie succession?

The common Resolution is (wherunto *Aristotle* doth agree in the ninth of his *Politicks*) that when election is made of Kings rightly and as it ought, that is, that alwaies the best and most vertuous of the vvhole Communitie bee chosen, and such a one who surpasseth all other in wisdom, surely then it were more auailable to haue them by Election: For in such sort, none should rule as king, but such a one as were worthy, which happeneth not alwaies, when they attaine vnto the kingdome by Hereditarie succession. For commonly (yea and most often) you shall find, that if the father was vertuous and wise, the sonne (who by

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lineall descent is to succeed in the kingdomes,
proueth vicious and vicked. *Roboam* a foolish
and sencelesse king, void of all good counsell,
succeeded *Salomon* a most wise Prince. *Sedechias*
(the vessell of all iniquitie) succeeded *Josias*
a iust, prudent, and good king. If vvee looke a-
mongst the Romans, after *Vespasian* a wise Em-
perour, his son *Domitian* raigned, a venie mori-
ster of mankind. After *Marcus Aurelius* so lear-
ned and vertuous a Prince, succeeded his sonne
Commodus, the very gulse of all wickednesse. *Au-
sonius* in his Epitaphes of the Emperors sayth,
That *Marcus Aurelius* had ben one of the most
happie Princes of the world, if he had not be-
got *Commodus*, vvho by his vices, did not onely
defame the stocke he came of, but his imperi-
all dignitie, and as a vicked sonne did vtterly
deface the felicitie of his learned and vertuous
father, to vvho it seemed that Nature did wrong
causing so bad a branch to spring of so good a
tree. *Solinus* in his vvork intituled *Polihistor*, ma-
keth mention, that in the Isle *Tabrobana*, kings
are chosen by election, not by nobilitie of
blood, nor by abundance of riches, but by a ge-
nerall voice of the people, they elect the most
auncient, prudent, and experienced amongst
others, such a one vvho hath no children, to the
end, that all occasion may bee taken away, to
make

make the royall dignitie Hereditarie. And if it happen, that during his reigne he engendreth any, he is depofed from his foueraintie, & another chosen in his place, furnished with qualities requisite for a king. Now albeit that manie approoued Authours haue held this opinion, that it is better to make kings by election, then by Hereditarie fucceffion : notwithstanding, the vyckednesse of men, and insatiable couetousnesse to bear rule, haue fhewed by euident effects, that it is more assured & quiet to commit the fouereintie vnto fuch to vvhom it doth belong by Hereditarie fucceffion, then to create them by election. For kings being aduanced by election, all is full of ciuill diffention, and many times the electors agree not well together, in as much as many doe feeke to bee kings either by right or vvrong, each one making vvhhat parts hee can for himfelfe, fo that moft often the matter is determined by fire and fword. So great is the ambition of many vvhwhen they ftriuie together for a kingdome. Did not *Iulius Cæfar* say, that he had rather bee the principall person in a countrey Towne, then the fecond man in Rome ? These troubles and accidents happen not vvhwhen the sonne of a king fucceedeth his father in the kingdome, for then all other are excluded from the hope to beare

rule, knowing that the sonne must succeed his father in the Crowne, and that the soveraignty is due vnto him and to none other. After this manner, as the most assured course, the French Monarchie hath been gouerned, except some few examples to the contrarie, as may be seene by the Chronicles of Fraunce. And albeit that the Empire of the West, from the time of *Otho* the third of that name, vntill this present, is giuen by election, and not by succession, as is manifest to al men: notwithstanding, many times such iarres haue happened betweene the Electors of the Empire, that the end of it hath been taking of Armes, vtherof hath followed partaking factions, vvarres, and to conclude, the destruction of the Commonweale of Christendome: as you may read in such approoued Authors as haue writtē therof, as amongst others, the Abbot of Sperges, and after him *Naucler*, vwho haue discoursed more copiously of the Hystory of the Germanes than any others.

¶ Euen in our age it is reported, but vwhether it be true or no I wil not averre, that the Emperour *Charles* the fift seeketh by all meanes possible to vnite the Empire vnto the house of *Austrich*, and to make it Hereditarie to that house, and not by election, as it hath ben since the time of *Otho* the third: but I cannot bee perswaded
that

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that it is so, neither is it likely, that the Pope, contrary to the determination of his predeceffors, and the Princes Electors of the Empire, vvould barre themfelues of so princely & great a priuiledge, as to make choice of the Emperour: vvhich vvvas giuen vnto them by *Gregory* the fift, in the yeare 994, to gratifie *Otho* the third. But I vvill not stay long to discourse on this matter, following the exhortation of *Cicero*, vvho doth admonish vs to speake little and modestly of the gods and of Princes, especially vvhen they are aliue. For as *Ouid* saith, Kings and Princes haue long armes and long hands, meaning that it is a dangerous matter to moue them to anger, in as much as their power stretcheth farre. And in this place vvill I end my declaration of the tree of a right and good Commonvveale, and so consequently goe forward vvith the Commentaries of an vniust and depraued gouernment.

NOW a depraued Commonvveale is deuided into three kinds, Piametrally contrarie vnto the three former kindes of a good and right Commonvveale.

In the first title is placed Tyrannicall power, in the second, the power of a Few, in the third, the power of the People. For these three kinds

E iij are

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are taken according vnto the same differences of the three sorts first spoken of, vvhich in the first title treateth of the gouernement of one alone; in the second of some, and those, few in number; in the third, of manie, gouerning rightly.

As concerning the first title, wee ought to know, that Tyrannicall power is put into the hands of one alone, vvho beareth rule, or rather as I may say, tyrannizeth according to his disordinate will, not obseruing the laws or precepts of Iustice. The contrarie vnto this, is the good King or Prince, vvho gouerneth and ruleth his people, not according to his sensuall appetite and vvill, but by ripenesse of counsell, obseruation of lawes, and right of iustice. And like as of all the sorts of a good and wel gouerned Commonvveale, Principalitie is the best: so likewise of all gouernements of a depraued Commonvveale, Tyrannie is the vvorst. Many good and approued Authors, as vvell amongst the Grecians, as the Romanes, haue vvritten of this monstrous beast Tyranny, hateful to God and to good men, but amongst the rest of the Grecians, *Zenophon*, a Philosopher of *Platoes* sect, hath vvritten most learnedly, and most eloquently, vvho for the syyetenesse of his stile, was in times past called the Muse of Athens.

Amongst

Amongst the Romanes *Calligula*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, ruled tyrannically, with some other Emperours, as I may say *Romane Tyrants*, vvhose horrible cruelties and execrable crimes are recited by many good Authours, & namely by *Tranquillus* in the liues of the twelue *Cesars*, by *Sextus Aurelius*, *Eutropius* & *Orosius*: and amongst moderne vvriters, by *Raphaell Volateranus* in his *Commentaries*: *Sabelius* in his *Rapsodias*: *Naucler* in his *Cronographie*: and others. *Dennis* of *Syracusa*, *Phalaris*, and such other Tyrants haue been defamed, and so shall remaine to all posteritie as men hatefull to God and to the vvorld, yea euen to their owne subiects, vvhom they haue reason to feare, because they keep them in fear vvithout reason. It must needs follow, that hee vvhich is feared of many, is hated of many, and to be assured of himselfe, he is constrained to be alwayes in the midst of armed men, although their guard doth little auaile him, their life alwayes hanging (as it vvere) by a thred: as by a most memorable example, *Dennis* whom before vvee spoke of, shewed to *Democles*, vvhen he caused a naked sword to be placed ouer his head as he was at meat, hanging only with one slender haire of a horse taile, as *Cicero* reciteth very eloquently in the last of his *Tusculane questions*. Tyrants, as the Satyri-

call

call Poet saith, goe neuer to *Plato* with a drie death, that is, without bloud and murder: for commonly, as wee see by experience, they are cruelly slaine. I should be ouerlong to recite the examples of such Tyrants as haue ben murdered. Whosoever listeth to read the Declamation of *Lucian* the Greek Orator, vpon the death of Tyrants, shall haue matter to recreate his mind withall. Let it then suffice, that I shut vp this discourse of Tyranny, with those words that Diuine *Plato* vsed vnto *Dennis*, vho I haue so often spoken of, when hee saw him guarded with so many armed Souldiours, least he should be slaine: Wherefore (quoth *Plato*) hast thou committed so many hainous offences, to be thus imprisoned with a band of Souldiours? The best and most assured defence of Princes, is the loue of their subiects. *Apollonius* sayth: That the gold which is taken by Tyranny from a Prince his subiects, is more base then Iron, in as much as it is wet with their teares. *Artaxerxes* was of this opinion, that it rather becomed the Maiesty of a King, to giue, than to take; to cloath, than to leaue naked: for, to catch and wrest from men is the proper office of theeues, and not of Kings and Princes, if they will not belye their name, as we may read in *Zenophon* his institution of *Cirus*. A good Prince ought

to be towards his people, not as a maister towards his seruants, or as a Conquerour towards the vanquished, but as a louing father towards his children, and as a good tutor ouer his pupils. And this may suffice for the declaration of this first title.

The second title containeth the second kind of a depraued Commonweale, vvherein a fewe haue the authority and gouernment. This manner of Commonweale taketh place, vvhhen as a few rich men, or of the Nobility, doe occupie the politicke gouernement, bending all their endeaours; and aiming at their owne priuate gainie and commodity, hauing no care of the common profit. These are vvoont to take part vvith their equals in Nobility and riches, fauoring them alwaies, and pressing downe & contemning the poore & baser sort. And this kind of gouernement is directly contrarie to the Commonweale of the best men, called by the Grecians Aristocratie, vvich is of some of the best and most vertuous men, of vvhom choice is made, vvhereof vve haue already disputed. In both kinds of gouernement few haue authority, the only difference is this, that in that Commonweale vvhere *Optimati* doe beare rule, it is gouerned by iustice, and they seeke the common profite. In the other they gouerne according

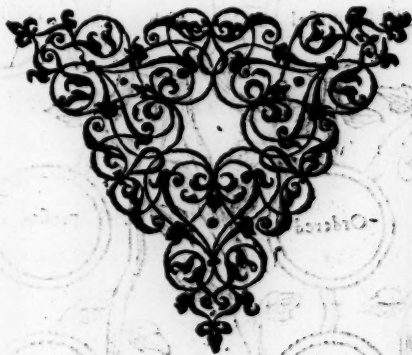
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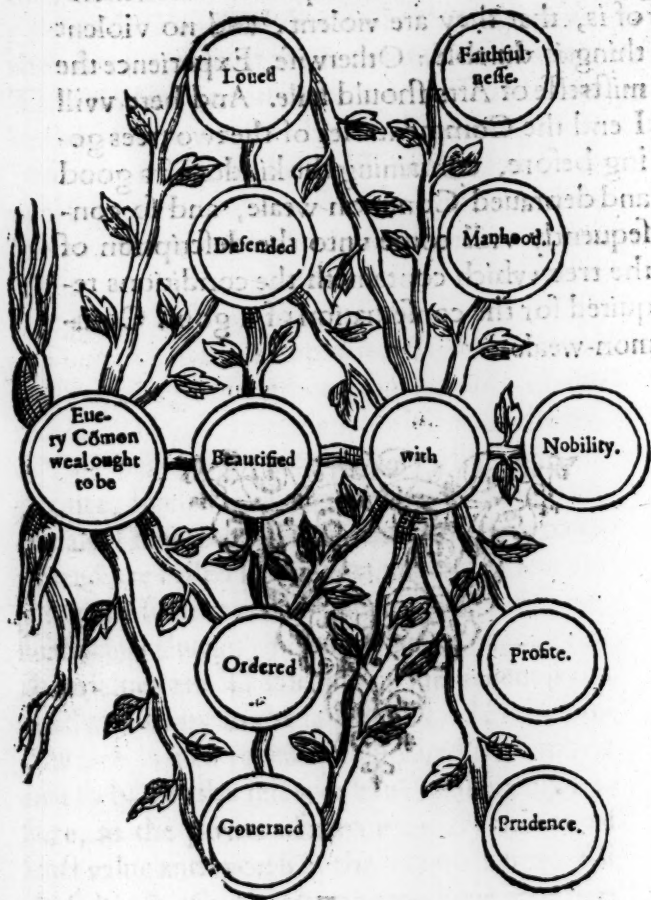
ding to their owne affections, hauing only regard to their owne abilitie and riches, and for the aduancement of their equals and fauorites. This kind of gouernement is not so much to be reprehended, nor so bad as the other going before, vvhich wee named Tyrannie, and yet worse then the power of the People, which followeth next after. And this is put betweene the extreames, as the authoritie *Optimum* is in the tree going before.

The last kind of a depraued Commonweale is a Popular gouernement, that is, vvherein mechanicall Handicraftsmen, and men of the baser sort beare rule, not seeking the publicke profite, but either their owne priuate, or their equals. They to vvhō this gouernment is committed, are called Plebeians, who doe alwaies persecute such as are rich, and of noble discent, fauouring alwaies the vulgar base sort, as they themselves are. This sort of gouernment is directly contrary to the last described in the former tree, vvhich wee call *Censu potestas*. This is not so bad as the rest wee haue spoken off before, as the power of men meanelly rich is of least value and worth in the formost tree. All these kinds of politicke gouernment haue ben seene in many Citties, but in so much as they are depraued, they haue not lasted long, but
are

are come to ruin and decay. The reason thereof is, that they are violent, and no violent thing is durable: Otherwise, Experience the mistresse of Arts should faile. And here vwill I end the Commentaries of the two trees going before, containing the kindes of a good and depraued Common-weale, and so consequently vwill come vnto the description of the tree vvhich containeth the conditions required for the conseruation of a good Common-weale.



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In this tree you may see as in a glasse all the conditions required for the conseruation and entertainement of a good Common-weale, vvithout the vvhich, ciuill society cannot continue : in a fewe titles I haue in a breefe manner shortly declared that vvhich hath been largely discoursed of by many worthie Authors, as wel Grecians as Romanes. And though the stile be not so pleasing, yet it may bee the methode is such as the like hath not heretofore been inuented.

Loued.

Euery Common-weale commeth to ruine, if the Cittizens through friendship are not vnited together, for if they bee factious and schismaticke, they are soone brought to decay. And concerning this matter, vve cannot alleadge an Authour and example of greater authoritie, then Iesus Christ himselfe, who in his Gospell doth affirme, That euery kingdome deuided in it selfe commeth to Ruine. Concord as *Salust* sayth, maketh small things great; and contrarily, discord maketh strong things vveake. The vvise man sayth, that Concord nourisheth loue. Wild beasts, as *Cassiodorus* that learned Senator of Rome dooth affirme, doe loue the woods and forrests, Foules the aire, Fishes the sea and

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the rivers, and men the place of their birth: to conclude, both men and beasts doe loue the soile where they desire to liue long. Who so (saith Aristotle in his third booke of politicks) loueth his owne profit more then the common good, he loseth the name of a good Cittizen, and purchaseth to himselfe the title of a bad & vvicked person. What shall vve say more, vve will conclude this title vvith the saying of *Plato*, recited by *Cicero*: We are not only borne for our selues, for a part of the Commonweale belongeth to euery Cittizen, of vvhat estate or degree soeuer, but more properly and especially vnto Noblemen, vvho haue the gouernment & managing of Armes, and vvho from their cradle euen to their graue, either are, on ought to bee trained vp in the practise of them: as vve may read in *Vlgius* and *Robertus Valturinus* in their vvorkes of Martiall discipline, vvich vve vvill speake of more largely hereafter.

Defended.

Riches and prosperity in a Commonweale, doth stirre vp the neighbours to assaile them, to robbe and spoile them, vvich they may easily do, if it be not stoutly defended by the subiects: vvho defendeth his countrey, defendeth himselfe

himselfe and his owne company: And vwho so refuseth to die for the defence of the Commonweale, he dieth togither with the ruine thereof: Inas much as the Commonweale being overthrowne, the Cittizens must needes come to ruine. Wherefore we ought not to fear any danger for the safegard of our country, for it is better to perish for many, than vwith many. *Horace* following *Periander* sayth: It is a vworthie and honest thing to die for ones countrey. *Iustinian* the Emperour was wont to say, that they that vvere slaine for the defence of the Commonweale, doe euer liue through fame. *Ouid* cannot find out the cause whence it should proceede that vve beare such loue and extraordinary affection to the place of our birth, which is so vehemently imprinted in our hearts, that vvee can neuer forget it. To make short, I forbear to speake of the feruent affection which *Codrus* king of the Athenians did beare his country, who by his death bought the life of his subjects: neither vil I make mention of that deadly draught of Bulls blood which *Themistocles* did drinke: nor of the care that *Aristotle* that famous Philosopher had of his countrey, euen at the point of death: nor of the feruent zeale of these Romanes *Brutus* the first Confull, *Curias*, *Decius*, *Albus*, *Scipio Affricanus*, and diuerse others,

The Mirrour of Peberte.

others, whose renoume will neuer die. The defence of the country vvherein a man is born, belongeth to all sorts of people, but especially vnto Noblemen, as I will declare hereafter.

Beautified.

The beauty of euery Common-weale consisteth in their Nobility: for commonly Noblemen are more rich, of more honest conuersation, more civile than the vulgar, mechanical, & base sort of people, in as much as from their cradle they are brought vp in al manner of vertue, and amongst men of honour. The popular sort are commonly euill conditioned, variable, inconstant, suspicious, hard to be ruled, and as *Virgil* saith, alwaies diuided into factions, & to conclude their imperfections, excluded from all good discretion and mannets. They vvhich haue vvritten of Husbandrie, doe report, that the most daintie and pleasantest part of milke, is the Creame; & that this it is true, Experience teacheth, for cheese made of milke skind, is drie, sower, and thapt. The Nobilitie at this were the creame of the milke of the Common-weale, and vvho so taketh them away, it remaineth like bad cheese, drie, ill tasted and insauorie. Wee will dispute more hereof, vvhenn vvee come

come to intreat of Armes.

Ordered.

The Philosopher saith, That vvhereas there is no order, there must needs be confusion. As the good Housholder ought to set his house in order, and the Pilot the ship, so ought a good Magistrate to order a Cittie and Common-weale: for the Communalitie vvhich by order is not brought to vnitie, by confusion is destroyed. Order is the due disposing of al things: Order, as Saint *Augustine* saith, is a certaine disposition, giuing due places, as vvell to such as are equall, as to such as are vnequall. Saint *Paul* writing to the *Corinthians*, commandeth them that all things be disposed by order and honestie. The order of the heauens, of times and seasons, giue vs to vnderstand (amongst manie other things) the wisdome of the Creator, who hath disposed all thinges diuine, celestiall, and terrestriall, by an admirable order. As in this round globe, vvee see the heauen holdeth the most high and honourable place, amongst elements the fire, gold amongst mettals, the head amongst the members of the body; likewise in euery vvell ordered Common-weale, men of learning, noble and vertuous men, ought to be aduanced to the most honorable estates and
G offices,

The Mirrour of Politie.

offices, & to the vvorthiest dignities of a kingdome or citie: and foolish persons, and men of base estate ought not to haue the administration of such offices as passe their capacitie. Wine of his owne nature doth comfort the spirites, but who so giueth ouermuch vnto a diseased person, he doth but increase his sicknesse, and maketh him vvorse: In like manner, vvhen a King bestoweth estates and offices on men of no merite, of bad, he maketh them vvorse, and giueth them occasion to doe ill, vvhereoffolloweth the ruine of the state. The Venetians (as hath been saied before) to giue some contentment vnto mechanicall handicraftsmen, and others of base estate in their common-vveale, leaue vnto them the execution of some meane offices, sortable to their degree and calling: vvhich they doe to keepe them from murmuring, taking example from the Romanes, the especiall care of the Senate being, by pollitick and discrete meanes, to keepe the vulgar sort from mutinie: and notwithstanding all their policie, they did seldome keepe them in order, as is euident in *Titus Livius*, *Plutarch*, and other approoued Authors. In bringing this to passe vvhich I haue set downe, the citie shall be well ordered vvith profite. If we enter into the consideration of the nature of Bees, how vvell

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they are ordered in their hives, if vve looke into the spinning of the spiders vvebbe, if vvee marke vvell the graines that are in a Pineapple, if vve note the members of a mans body, how vvell they are ordered, much more ought reason to perswade and teach vs to range & bring the subiects of a good commonweale (vwho are reasonable creatures) into a decent order. *Queene Saba* comming to visite *Salomon*, vvondred vvhen shee beheld the order of his court, and of his traine, his officers and seruauents: What shall vvee say more to shut vp this title, vvhen *Iob* describeth a land of miserie, of calamitie, and of darkenesse, he saith for a ful curse, That no Order remaineth therein. Wherefore, we may conclude, that a Kingdome, Commonweale, or citie, vvithout Order, may rightly be compared to hell.

Gouerned.

Gouernement presupposeth Order, forasmuch as vvithout Order, there can be no due gouernment. Gouernment, is a right disposition of such things as are comitted to the charge of any man, to bring them to a meet end; as all the morall Philosophers and Diuines haue described it. Every Monarch, Emperour, King, Prince, Lord, Magistrate, Prelate, Iudge, and

The Mirrour of Policie.

such like may be called Gouvernours. There is necessarily required in euery Gouvernour of a kingdome or commonweale, Wisdome, Patience, and Diligence: for like as a Pilot through his folly may easily be cause of shipwracke, so euery Gouvernour of a commonweale or citie, may by his indiscretion be the occasion of the ouerthrow of his subiects. Euery Gouvernour in like manner ought to be endued with patience, by the example euen of the King of the Bees, vvho hath no sting, vvherein Nature doth mystically shew, that Kings and Gouvernours of commonweales ought to vse greater clemency than seuerity, and more equitie than rigour, towards their subiects: *Artaxerxes* bragged of this vertue. Besides, a Gouvernour ought to bee diligent: and if a carefull Housekeeper (vvho vvill deserue the name of a good Husband) ought in his priuate familie to be himselfe first vp, and last in bed, howe much more diligent ought a Gouvernour of a Cittie to be; vvhere there are many houses, & a King ouer his kingdome, vvhere there are many Citties? When the Prophet *Jonas* was overcome vvith sleepe, the Pilot rebuked him, shewing him that he should not haue slept but waked, regarding the instant danger; and indeed he cast him into the sea, as being vnprofitable in his shippe. This example

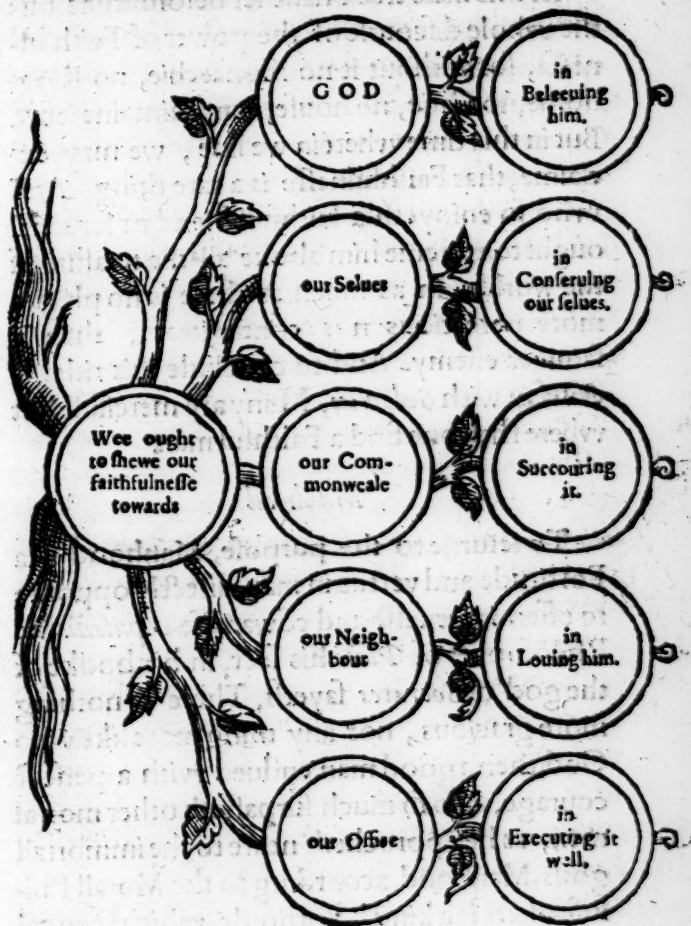
example drawne not from Heathen Authours, but from holy Scripture, doth mystically teach vs, that negligent Magistrates deserueth to be cast out of the gouernment of the Commonweale, and plunged in the Sea of perpetuall reproch.

Faithfulnesse.

Faithfulnesse is directly opposite to treason, which neuer maketh entrante in a vertuous and honest mind. Faithfulnesse, as *Seneca* sayth, is a most holy treasure, safely laid in mans breast, which cannot be constrained by any necessitie, nor corrupted by any reward, to entertaine treason. *Numa Pompilius*, the second king of the Romanes, who first ordained their ceremonies, made this decree, that when sacrifice should be made to the goddesse Faithfulnesse, it should be done without the sheading of the bloud of any beast, that is to say, without slaughter, and that the Priests should be apparelled in white, which colour did denote puritie of heart. *Plutararch* writeth, that *Augustus Caesar* said he loued treasons, but hated Traitors. How necessary Faithfulnesse is for the preservation of a Commonweale may be seene by this, that the first Temple that *Romulus* built at Rome, was the Temple of Faithfulnesse, and

of the god *Terminus*. The miserable end of *Achitofel* that slue the valiant *Machabens*, of *Judas Ischariot* the false Apostle, doe evidently shew the reward of Traitors, in recompence of their treasons. What great hurt hath come into Christendome by the treason of *Andrew Merail* a knight of Rhodes, by Nation a Portingall, vwho stirred vp the great Turke *Soliman*, by his letters, to assaile and take the Isle of Rhodes, is manifest to all men. Faithfulnesse then is the vprightnesse of an vnchaungeable thought, vvhich taketh place generally amongst friends and enemies, rich and poore, Princes & subiects, maisters and seruants. There are some especiall vertues that euery man is not capable of, but none can exempt or excuse himselfe, in not being faithfull. Nature hath bound vs all vnto this vertue: for Faithfulnesse is no other thing (as hath beene saied) but an vprightnes of thought, by the vvhich euery one is bound to recompence friendship, to keepe close the secrets cōmitted vnto thee, to accomplish the thing promised, to remaine constant in speech, and to be short:

The Mirrow of Policie.



The Mirror of Politie.

In this little tree I haue set before thine eies the whole discourse of the power of Faithfulnessse, for without it no Monarchie, no Kingdome, no Citie, no house, can maintaine it self. But in this time vvherein we liue, we may exclaime, that Faithfulnessse is a rare thing. And vvhoe so enioyeth a faithfull friend or seruant, ought to esteeme him aboue all the treasure of the world, in as much as there is no plague more pernicious nor contagious, than a familer enemy. And to conclude this title, I vwill say with *Salomon*, Many are mercifull, but vvhoe shall one find a Faithfull man.

Manhood.

To retorne to the purpose, Manhood is a Fortitude and vertue in man, directly opposite to effeminatenesse and cowardise. *Apuleius* the Philosopher of *Plato* his sect, in his booke of the god of *Socrates* sayeth, There is nothing more gracious, nor any thing more like vnto God, then a good man endued vwith a perfect courage, vvhoe so much surpasseth other mortall men, as he approcheth neare to the immortall gods. Manhood, according to the Morall Philosophers is a kind of fortitude, vvhich they call Heroicall, concerning the vvhich, as vvell the Grecians as the Barbarians, haue left vs manie memorable

memorable examples. But especially the Romanes haue excelled and surpassed others herein, amongst whom it seemeth vnto me, *Horatius Cocles* a Romane Knight, ought to haue the preheminance, vwho seeing the extreame misery and instant perill of the Common-weale; all his fellow souldiours hauing turned their backs, and trusting only to flight, he himselfe for the safegard thereof, set his body as a vvall against an infinite number of his enemies: And so he alone (accompanied vwith Manhood, as *Ulysses* vwith *Minerua*) fought so long against them, vntill he supposed the bridge was broken downe; as it was, and so he cast himselfe into the deepe River, with his heavy armour, the zeale towards his countrey flying to the skies, & making him immortal. What a rare spectacle of Manhood was this, no lesse wonderfull to the enemies; than profitable to his friends. In our age of fresh memory, wee haue (amongst others) had a second *Horatius*, who of stoutnes of courage, and prowesse of Armes, may bee equalled to him; one Captaine *Buyard*, who shewed his value in many places, namely, when he slue a Spanish Knight *Alphonso de Sotto Mayor* in single combate, who amongst his countrymen was esteemed as a second *Hector*. He likewise in the expedition that *Charles* the eight,

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king of Fraunce made to Naples, did alone defend, abridge against two hundred Spaniards, untill other succour came vnto him: I let passe many other of his worthy deeds, recorded by the Historiographers of our time, because I wil not be tedious. But to returne to the Romans, what manlinesse was in *P. Decius Marena*, in the journey and conflict against the Samnites, when as *Aulus Cornelius* a Consul of Rome, had foolishly inclosed himself in the midst of them: Did not hee recouer the victory, being vnhop-
ped for, and turned their desperation to assured triumph? I forbear to speake of the good zeale that *Decius* did shew vnto the Common-
weale, when he bought the victory with the price of his life. What shall we say more? The miserable end of *Sardanapalus*, more effeminate then euer *Tham* was, dooth plainly shew, that
w^ho so contrarieth his sexe, ought to die as he did, who burning himselfe in his pallace, ended both his life and Monarchie at one time, as *Plutarch* reciteth in his second booke of the ver-
tue and fortune of *Alexander* the great. Nature was deceiued vhen it placed manhood in the heart of *Semiramis* being a woman, & coward-
ly effeminate nesse in the heart of *Sardanapalus* being a man. *Semiramis* (albeit she was but a woman) led forth armies, caused the drummes

to strike vp, ensignes to be displayed, set battailles, btille Babylon, troossed diuerse seas and countreies, and finally triumphed ouer her enemies. And *Sardanapalus*, a man, a king, did wind thred, spinne yearne, vsed his looking glasse, painted his face, and vvas skilfull in nothing els but in eating, drinking, vvantonnesse, and sleeping, and neuer performed any manly act in all his life, but vvhen he burnt himself, by which act he deliuered his subiects from a monstrous Hermophrodite, who vvas neither true man, nor true vvoman, being in sexe a man, and in heart a woman.

Nobility.

We vvill hereafter dispute of Nobilitie, in the title of Noblemen, and Arms.

Profite.

Marcus Tullius Cicerō the Patron of Roman eloquence, did vvaille and lament, that some through ignorance, vvvent about to separate profite from honesty, albeit that between them there is such indissoluble marriage and good agreement, that there can be no separation nor diuorce betweene them. They held this opinion, that a thing might be profitable, and not honest, and contrariwise, that a thing might be

The Manner of Publick.

honest, and not profitable, than which doctrine nothing could be more hurtfull to the life of man. For the whole school and sect of Stoicks doe hold, that whatsoever is honest, is necessarily profitable: and that nothing can bee profitable, except it bee honest: and they that would make a diuision betweene profite and honestie, doe nothing else but pervert Nature. *Lactantius Firmian*, a Diuine, a Philosopher, and a most eloquent Orator, in his Institutions doth affirme, that nothing can be profitable or honest, except it bee good, and that nothing can bee profitable or dishonest vntil it bee bad. Now if in any thing in this world we looke for profite, wee ought principally to consider it in a body Politique. *Aristotle* saith, That by how much a good thing is more common, by so much it is more to be esteemed. For if it be good and laudable to order a house & a ship, yet to the profite thereof much better it is, yea best of all to order a Commonweale for the commodity thereof. The end of each good order tendeth to profite: the end of confusion, ruine and destruction. *Ozias* (as it is written in the *Machabees*) preferred the profite of his Countrey, before his owne life. *Curtius* the Romane Knight, for the commoditie of his Common-weale, hated his life, and his

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owne safetie, by which deed, he got immortall fame. Euery Prince that preferreth his private gaine before the common good, ought to tremble at the words of Saint Paul in the second to the Corinthians the eleuent Chapter, where hee sayth: I seeke not that which is gainefull to my selfe, but that which is profitable to manie. Saint Hierome affirmed, that reading Pauls Epistles, it seemed that hee heard clappes of thunder: which holie and learned Doctour I alleadge, that it might bee apparent, that who so seeketh his owne commoditie more than the publicke profite, dooth not followe the holie Apostle.

Prudence.

Prudence, as Cicero sayth in his first book of Laws, taketh her denomination of Providence, as of the principall part thereof. Providence (according vnto Aristotle in the sixt of his Ethickes) is a right reason of such things as we vndertake. Prudence is diuided into true and false. True Prudence is that vertue by the which we take counsell, we iudge & comānd all things to be done which do appertaine & conduct the life of man vnto a good end. False Prudence is the disposition of things that tend to an euill

The Mirrour of Prudence.

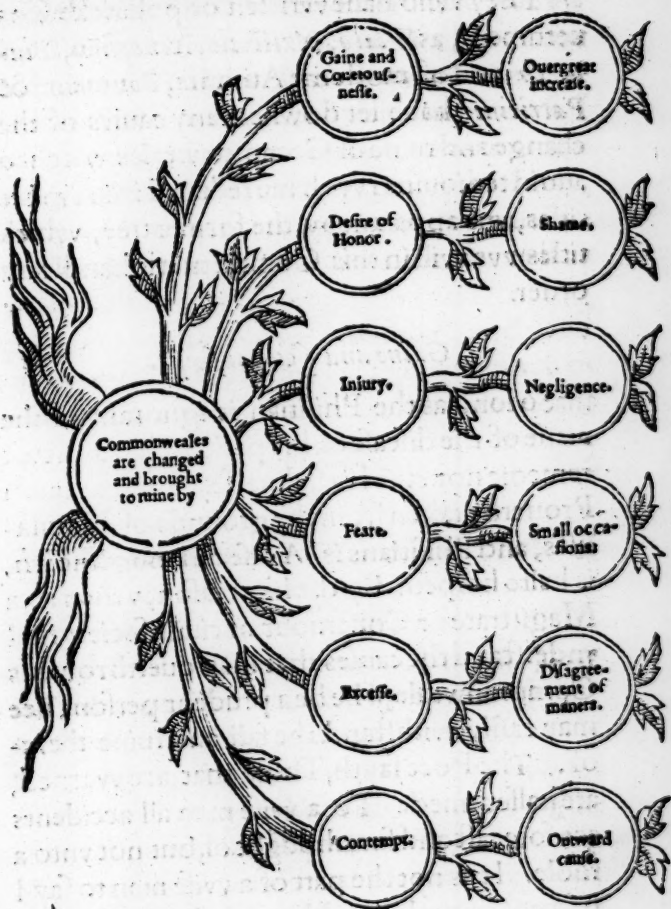
end, as if a man should bend all his study to vs
the pleasure of the flesh, to steale, and to robbe,
to enrich himselfe by fraud, subtiltie, craft, and
deceit. Of this false Prudence the Apostle spea-
keth in the eight to the Romanes, vwhen he
saith: Wildome of the flesh is death. *Aristotle*
demaunderth, vwhat is the reason vvhy young
men are not prudent, but commonly foolish,
inconsiderate, and headstrong? Wherunto the
learned Philosopher answereth, That Prudence
presupposeth vvildome, vvildome experience,
experience long life, vvwhich young men haue
not attained vnto, for if they had liued long,
they should be old: vvwhich is the cause that yong
men cannot be prudent, in that they vvant ex-
perience. This vertue of Prudence instructeth
vs to provide for things to come, to order
things present, and to remember things past.
Xenophon the Philosopher in his instigation of
King *Cyrus*, saith, That vve can haue no vse of
vertue, vvithout Prudence: For in the admini-
stration, as vvell of private as publike matters,
vve cannot attaine vnto a vvished end vvithout
the direction of Prudence. As at sea, the Ma-
riners follow the commandement of the Pilot,
the diseased of the Phisitian, travellers of their
guide, Souldiours of their Captaine: so ought
good subjects to follow the direction of their
Prince,

Prince, and good Cittizens of their Magistrat. And as a good Citizen is bound to obey with willingnesse and readinesse, so likewise ought a good Magistrate and Prince to commaund prudently. Morall Philosophers gave three eyes vnto Prudence, Memory, Vnderstanding, and Prouidence; with the first it looketh to time past, with the second it beholdeth time present, and with the last it regardeth the time to come by the which it appeareth, that of all the vertues, Prudence hath the most eyes. Amongst the Romane Emperours, some are praised for Clemency, as *Iulius Caesar*; others for Learning and Wisdome, as *Adrian*; some for Tēperance, as *Marcus Aurelius*; some for Liberality, as *Titus*; others for Iustice, as *Traian*; *Augustus* for felicitie, *Antonius Pius* for goodnesse, but peculiarly and aboue the rest, *Alexander Seuerus* hath ben commended for the vertue of Prudence, which he obtained by the counsell and instruction of the learned Lawyer *Ulpian*. *Philip* of Macedon, father of *Alexander* the great, being in hostage three yeare at Thebes, learned Prudence of the wise prince *Epaminondas*, by which vertue, he got into his hands the Monarchie of all Greece, & a great part of Asia, being before only King of Macedonia. What shall we say more? Thorow the whole discourse of *Homer* his *Odisses* (where

we may read the fable of *Minerva*, vwho alwaies accompanied *Kliffes*: the most learned Poet tendeth to no other end, then to shew vs, that Prudence (vwhich hee figureth by *Minerva*) ought alwaies guide a man, to attaine vnto the end of his enterprife. Bion the Philosopher said that Prudence was amongst other vertues as the sight amongst the five senses. Of vvhich vertue, *Ionianus Pentanus* hath written a vvhole discourse. It resteth to conclude this title, (and so consequently the full declaration of the tree) that euery Commonweale shall flourish if it be gouerned by Prudence.

A PREFACE VPON THE
Commentaries of the tree following.

WE haue before declared and shewed by oc-
culer demonstration the causes that make
a Commonweale to flourish and continue
long. It resteth now to shew and to set forth vnto your
view the occasions that bring it to change, to decline,
and finally to ruine: which according to the former
methode is set forth in the tree following.



The Mirrour of Politie.

They who haue written of pollicicke Government, as *Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch*; and of moderne Authors, *Pontanus, & Patricius*: haue set downe many causes of the change and ruine of Commonweales, which to auoid tediousnes vve haue reduced into twelue titles, as is apparant by the former tree, vvhich titles vve vvill in this Commentarie handle by order.

Gainie and Couetousnesse.

So long as the Phisitian is ignorant of the cause of the disease of his patient, he can neuer remedie nor cure his sicknesse. The common Prouerbe taken from the grounds of Naturalists, and Phisitians is, A disease being known, is halfe holpen. By the like reason, vvhen as a Magistrate or Gouvernour of ciuile society shal vnderstand the causes that may ouerthrow his Commonweale, if he be a prudent person, hee may easily vvithstand the fall and ruine thereof. The Poet sayth, Those that are warned, are halfe armed. To a vvise man all accidents are forecast and forethought of, but not vnto a foole. It is not the part of a vvise man to say I had not thought it. Now it behooueth euery Prince, King, Magistrate, or Politicke Gouvernour to vnderstand, that amongst those causes
which

which bring destruction and ruine vnto a commonweale, Gainē offereth it selfe first of all. But vvhāt sort of Gainē? Euen that, vvhē the common people, vvhō of their owne nature are suspicious, busie, and inconstant, doe perceauē that the Gouvernours of a Cittie are couetous, seeking to make great gainē vnto themselues, and get great wealth into their hands, which causeth them to impose vpon the common people great exactions, lones, subsidies, and other insupportable burthens, vvhich causeth their patience to turne into furie, and from a priuate and secret grudge, they come to some publick and open sedition against the Gouvernors and Magistrates, not being able to indure their insatiable couetousnesse: vvhence it commeth to passe oftentimes, that they murther them, sacke and spoile their houses by force and violence. And so by such sedition, the publicke peace is disturbed, and the politicke body either changed or vtterly brought to ruin. Now, according to the saying of *Quintilian*, vvhō herein followed *Seneca*, that a good Orator ought from precepts to come to examples, vve may enrich this place vvvith manie testimonies, as vvell from the Grecians, Latines, as Barbarians: But to auoid tediousnesse, it may suffice to alledge some one out of the *Chronicles of Fraunce*. In the time

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of king *Charles* the sixt, there happened a great mutiny of the people, altogether caused by the couerousnesse of the politicke Gouvernours, especially of those which were neare about the King, vvhich sought nothing else, then to lay newe impositions vpon the people, to make them leane, and themselues fat, to steale from others to fill their owne purses: but the people opposed themselues against them, yea the tumult was so great, that notwithstanding all the reasons alleadged by Sir *Peter de Villiers*, and Sir *Jehn des Marts* (vvhich were greatly in the peoples fauour) all the Farmers of the saied impositions were murthred and slaine, their goods spoiled, their euidences burned, their houses raised, and the heads of the vessels of Wine in their Sellers knocked in peeces, and the Wine let out. And one of the sayed Farmers flying to Saint *James* his Church, vvhich standeth in the Butcherie, to saue his life, was slaine hard by the high Altar, holding the Image of our Ladie in his handes. The day wherein the slaughter was made, was called the day of Hammers, in regard of certaine leaden Hammers the people tooke in the Towne-house, with the vvhich they committed their slaughter.

ter. In the time of *Lewis* the ninth, called *Saint Lewis*, the common people of five Townes or Countries of Germanie, vvhich vvee nowe call *Switzers*, did mutinie in so great number, and raise such sedition, that they did slay all the Princes, Lordes, Barons, Knights, and to bee short, all they that had anie title of honour or gentrie in that Countrey: vvhich vvas done, in regard that the sayed Princes and Nobilitie did oppresse them vvvith greuous and vniust exactions. And the better to assure their libertie, they made an alliance and confederation amongst themselves, vvhich they called *Brotherhood*, and at this day they terme *The ancient leagues of the high Almaines*. And in this sort the estate of their *Common-vveale* vvas chaunged, through the Tyrannie of their Princes, so that euen till this present, they liue in libertie. Moreover, it appeareth by the example of *Iohel* and *Abia* the sonnes of *Samuel*, that *Common-vveales* are altered through the couetousnesse of Magistrates: For they being Iudges ouer all the people of *Israell*, their couetousnesse, exaction, and taxes vpon the people, vvas the cause that the Politicke

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gouernment of the Hebrues was changed: For the people being oppressed through their insatiable couetousnesse, they demanded of *Samuel* that they might haue a king, vvhich he graunted them: so that in stead of Iudges, they liued vnder Principality, as vve may see in the first booke of kings. What shall I say more? If couetousnesse be reprobued as a damnable vice in all sorts of people, shal it not be much more condemned in a Prince, a king, or politicke Gouernment? *Aristotle* in his *Ethickes* detesteth Auarice in all men, but in politicke Gouernors aboute all others. In men of meane estate, the Philosophers haue commended the vertue, vvhich the Latines cal Parsimonie, and we tearm Sparing, especially in those that haue many children, and small store of wealth, (which we see commonly happen.) But in a Royall State, and in an opulent Common-veale, Parsimonie is reprobued. For in as much as their fortune is great and mightie, so much the rather is it required, that they shew their liberalitie and magnificence. I vwill neuer commend in men of honour this niggardly sparing, which in poore housekeepers (in regard of their povertie) is to be born withall: *Sergius Galba* who succeeded *Nero*, vvas vworthily reprooued, in that he vvas not onely ouer-sparing of his own
reuenues,

reuenues, but most couetous of the publicke treasure. Who would not discommend the niggardlinesse of *Didius Iulius*, vwho being a man of great vvealth, if any one had bestowed a hare, a pigge, or some such like present on him, he would haue made three or four meales therewith; and many times hee fed on nothing but Beanes or Cabbage. What shall we say more? *Pertinax* being aduanced to the degree of Emperour, did not yet forget his niggardlinesse, but parted Lettice and Artichaux in two, that the one halfe might be for his dinner, and the other halfe reserued for his supper. Is it not a great reproch for a prince exalted to high honour, & to possesse large territories, to haue so straight a heart, to liue in miserable pouertie, to the end he may die rich? If any man would obiekt vnto me the Parsimony of *Fabricius*, I answer, that the age wherein he liued, ought to excuse him, in the vvhich all magnificence was vnknowne amongst the Romanes. But to returne to our purpose. *Iouius Pontanus* in his booke of Liberalitie, doth vwrite, that a Cardinall named *Angelot*, was so couetous, that by a false dore he descended into the stable, and euery night stole away the oates vvhich his Horse-keepers had giuen his horses, vvhich custome he continued so long, till at the last one of his horse

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Horsekeepers hiding him selfe in the stable, did so belabour him vvith a pitchforke, that he had much adoe to craule away. Contrarily, *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, Emperour of Rome, vvho for his great humanity and Liberality was surnamed *Delicia generis humani*, considering that his father had beene defamed for his great couerousnesse, determined by his Liberality to blot out the bad report his father had gotten: He vv as vv oont to say, that a man ought not to goe vvith a sad countenance before a prince his face. Euery euening before he vv ent to bed he remembred vvhat he had done the day past, and calling to mind one nighr, that the day before he had bestowed nothing vpon any man, hee fetched a deepe sigh, saying to those that vv ere by, Alas, my friends, I haue lost this day: meaning that that day vv as lost, vv herein hee had not shewed his Liberality. What vv ords of a Prince vv ere these? What a Royall mind? What bountifulnesse. *Alexander* the great being reprehended by some about him, because he gaue a great and rich City vnto a poore man that begged almes of him, and the poore soule him selfe saying vnto him, that so great and rich a gift did not belong vnto him: *Alexander* made answere, Albeit it is not fit for thee to receaue so great a gift, yet it becommeth mee vv ell to
giue

giue it: For in bestowing a city on thee, I regarded not thy beggerie, but my Royaltie: What care I though such a gift be not to be receiued of thee, seeing it is agreeable to my estate to bestow it: *Seneca* in his booke of Benefiting, reprobeth such gifts, howbeit he praiseth the liberall mind of Princes. The great King *Antigonus* incurred the name of couetous, in cauil-ling vvith a poore man, vvho demanded of him a Talent of gold, vvwhich is vvorth sixe hundred French Crownes, to vvhom he made this answer, that such a reward vvvas too much to bee giuen to a begger: The poor man then demanded a dramme of him, vvwhich is worth a groat, to vvhom *Antigonus* answered, that such a gift vvvas too little to bee giuen by a King. For the vvwhich he vvvas vvorthily reprooued, in that as a king he might haue giuen a Talent, and ought not to haue refused to haue giuen him a dram, he being a poore man. Further, Liberality and bountifullnesse are vertues peculierly proper to a Prince, King, or cheefe Magistrat, as *Aristotle* saith in his *Ethickes*. And if they ought to vse liberalitie to all sorts of people, they ought principally to be bountiful to men of learning, according to the example of *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, vvho had a great number of learned men in his court, to vvhom he gaue great pensi-

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ons.

sions. *Alexander* the great, whose death as *Plutarch* saith, was happie to the Romanes, had in a manner as great a company of learned men in his armie, as vvarriors. The Emperors *Antony* and *Marcus Aurelius* (surnamed the Philosopher) were very liberall to al mē of knowledge. *Dennis* the Tyrant of *Siracusa*, gaue a Talent of gold vnto *Helicon* the *Cyziceni*, in recompence of his skill in prognosticating the eclipse of the sunne. *Lysander* in reward of a few verses, gaue vnto the Poet *Antiochus* his hat full of siluer. King *Alphonso* gaue a thousand Duccats to his Secretary *Antony Panormit*, for the setting forth of a Chronicle of his vvorthy acts: He gaue likewise five hundred Duccats to *Poggio* of *Florence* for translating out of Greeke into Latine *Xenophon* his *Cyropedia*, albeit that *Frauncis Philelpus* had translated it before. I vvould that the Princes of this time, and those that are to come hereafter, vvould take exāple by these I haue alledged, amongst whom I may vvorthily put king *Francis* king of France, vvho surpassed all his predecessours in liberality towards men of learning, to whom I may likewise ioine *Cosmo de Medicis* Duke of *Florence* for his great liberality towards *Marsilius Ficinus* and other men of knowledge, as appeareth by the mention the said *Ficinus* maketh

keth of him in his vvorkes.

Desire of honor.

The second occasion vvhich causeth alteration and ruine of Commonvveales, is a greedy thirsting, and desire of Honour : for thereby many times great trouble and sedition is mooued amongst Cittizens, vvhich happens vvhen they that are honoured vvith offices and publicke charges, doe enuie such as doe gouerne, taking the matter ill that others are preferred before them. This coueting of Honour vvvas the cause of great trouble and alteration in the Common-weale of Rome, chaunging it from Aristocratie into Tyrannie, and the gouernmēr of one alone : vvhich happened, vvhen as *Iulius Cesar* scorning a superior, and *Pompey* stomacking to haue any equall to himselfe, did both strue for the principality: stirring vp those horrible and fearefull ciuill vvwarres, vvhich brought the Romanes liberty to ruine, vtill both the Tyrants vvvere slaine. The same ambition kindled the like ciuile vvwarres betweene *Scilla* and *Marins* vvith such extremity, that the streetes and places of Rome, did runne vvith the blood of the Cittizens.

Iniury.

The third cause of the change & ouerthrow of kingdomes, is Iniury: vvhich happeneth, vvhen as they that doe beare principall authority in the Commonvveale, through ouermuch insolence and pride, doe iniury, vvrong, & oppression vnto the subiects, by reason vvhereof the common people doe mutinie and moue sedition, and so do bring change and ruin in the estate; vvhich the wise man dooth signifie to vs in Ecclesiastes saying, One kingdome is transported from one Nation to another for the iniustice, iniuries, and vvronges of the superiors: as we may read by the example of *Cirus* the great, vvho in respect of the iniury done vnto him by *Astages* his grandfather, causing him to be exposed immediatly after his birth, rebelled against him, ouercame him in battell, and as a conqueror transported the kingdome from the Medes vnto the Persians: If examples of the Heathenis are not sufficient, let vs come vnto the holy Scripture: *Roboam* the sonne of *Salomon* for an inuiolous and threatening answer vvhich he gaue vnto his subiects, he changed his riches into povertie: For of twelue Tribes, he deservedly lost tenne, vvhich vv ere for euer separated frō those two vv hich only remained vnder his obedience.

By

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By that vvhich I haue said it appeareth, how In-
iury doth chaunge and ouerthrow the estate of
Commonvveales.

Feare.

The fourth cause of the mutation and ruine
of a Commonvveale is Feare. And that is when
as some that are criminal, culpable, and conuic-
ted of some capitall crimes, for feare of punish-
ment vvhich hangeth ouer their head, doe moue
sedition in the Citty, and rebell against the Ma-
gistrates, by vvhom by right they ought to be
punished, and so they seeking to preuent their
future punishment, to the end, they may not in-
curre the penalty their offences doe merit, they
forceably cast the Magistrats from the admini-
stration of their charge, and so change the Go-
uernment. As for example, the Noblemen did
in the Commonvveale of the Rhodians, vvho
rose against the people for feare of the punish-
ment prepared for them, as *Aristotle* reciteth in
the third Chapter of his fift booke of Poli-
tickes.

Excesse.

The fift cause is Excesse: vvhen as some one
Cittizen by excellency of vertue, abundance of
wealth, or magnanimity of heart, dooth newly

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begin to rule ouer others, and hold a Monarchy, seeing that other Citizens are not able to resist him : For abundance and riches are alwaies accompanied with the fauor of the common people, vwho doe esteeme the possession of riches to be the only soueraigne good, albe it the troth is otherwise. But it is as hard to nourish fire in vvater, as to find good iudgement amongst the common sort. By this meanes, the Communalities of Italy doe often change their Commonvvales, they being naturally enclined to diuision through partialities, so that they are neuer in peace : For no sooner forraine vvars do cease, but ciuile and domesticall broiles do torment them. The example of that vvch I haue spokē of, vvvas practised in the Commonvvale of Florence, during the time of *Cosmo de Medicis*, vvho did not onely deserue the onely principality ouer that Commonvvale, but a farre greater Monarchy, he vvvas so thoroughly accompanied vvith vertue and learning, to the vvch his perfections, riches did giue a greater shew and ornament.

Contempt.

The sixt cause is Contempt : & that happeneth vvhen as some Citizens are dispised, and excluded from offices and publicke charges,
and

and when as in a city dignities are not bestowed indifferently, for the they which are condemned, do mutiny and rise against those who haue the politicke gouernment: and by that meanes the Estate is changed, as appeareth by the example of Thebes, and of Megara, when they were overcome through the euil gouernment of the cheefe rulers and Magistrates. So the like happened to the Common-veale of Siracusa, before that *Gelo* vsurped Tyranny ouer them: the like also did befall the Rhodians. The Venetians take good order to remedy this inconuenience: For albeit that the common sort be excluded from all estates and offices of honour in their commonveale, and haue no authority therein, yet to giue them some contentment, and to take away from them occasion of murinie, they bestow vpon some of them some base and meane office, which they doe with great discretiō, for a man of base estate accounteth it a credite for him to beare office in the commonveale, how vile soeuer it bee. Contempt was in times past cause at Rome of great seditions, yea such, that they had welnigh ouerthrowne the whole Estate. What sedition did the people moue, when as the Senat & the Nobility held them in such disdain, that they could not aspire to the dignity of Consulship,
nor

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nor Dictatorship, nor any other title of honor whatsoeuer, in the Gouvernement of the Commonweale. The most part of the seditions and rebellions at Rome, happened in this respect, that the people held themselves as contemned and excluded from all publicke charges, and from alliance and mariage with Noble men: wherevpon they were forced to content and appease their fury, to graunt them their Tribunes, as we may read in the first Decade of *Cicero*, and in *Plutarke* in the life of *Coriolanus*. After the death of King *Charles* the seventh of that name, a Prince of his naturall inclination, gentle, louing, and meeke, succeeded his eldest sonne *Lewis* the eleuenth, a Prince naturally contrary to his father, for he was bitter, vehement, suspicious, of a stirring wit, and hard to serue, as much as any Prince in the world, as *Philip de Comines* reporteth of him, who setteth him forth liuely in his colours, which he might well doe, being one of his most famillier seruants: This King immediately after the coronation (vpon what humour, is vnknowne) did as it were banish from the Court, as well the Princes of blood, as the other Lords, and determined to serue himselfe with men of meane estate, and almost of no account, but base companions, imagining (as some presume) hee should

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should draw better seruice from them, and be better obeyed by them, then of men extracted of noble parentage . Amongst the rest of his seruants vvho vv ere most aduanced by him, vv as one *Doyac*, and *Oliuer Deere* his barbour, vvho abased himselfe to that vild office , that vvith his tongue he licked the blood from his Hemeroides. The Princes and Lords of France seeing thēselues to be contemned in such sort, they gathered an army together , encamped themselues neere to Paris, and offered the king battel, vvho made head against thē, though to his losse: the battle vv as giuen at a place called *Montlhery* the 27 of Iulie 1465, the place giuing name to the day. This contempt put the king in hazard to loose both his Estate and his life, if by great prudence & policy he had not appeased the fury and vv rath of the said Princes and Nobility. This notable example ought to be imprinted in the memory of all Princes and politicke Gouvernors, that they may thereby learne to keepe themselues from despising their subiects, least they incurre the like danger which king *Lewis* did, vvho after the said sedition became more vvise & prudent then before: for the remainder of his life, he vv as a Lyon in force, and a Foxe in counsell.

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Ouer great increase.

The feuenth cause is, vvhhen as some one part of a Commonvveale doth besides a due and requisite proportion increase more then the rest. And this happeneth vvhhen some of the Citizens doe become richer then others, or haue an extraordinary aduantage in honor and profite. For that side that is poorer, and not in that dignity, may perhaps exceed in number, as in euery Common-vveale it is ordinarily seene, that for one rich man, there are an hundred poore, vvhho trusting to their multitude, do mooue mutiny against the rich, vvhho are the smaller number: by vvhich meanes oftentimes the State is changed, yea sometimes vtterly ouerthrowne. As vve see that the body of man ought naturally to haue a due proportion in the members thereof, so likewise there ought to be (as much as it is possible) in the politicke body the like proportion, as vvell in honour as in riches to auoid sedition. If any man had a nose exceeding in greatnesse the bignesse of his foot, he should be held for a monster and out of fashion: in like manner, vvhhen as some one of the Citizens do excell the rest in riches more than is fit in due proportion, the politick body becommeth monstrous, and so cannot
long

long continue vvithout danger of tumult, and consequently vvithout chaunge or ruine. To auoid sedition, vvhich might arise amongst the Citizens, and to remedy the same in some Cities in Greece, & namely in Athens, Ostracisme vvvas inuented, vvhich vvvas banishment for ten yeares, against such as did exceed either in riches, credit, or fauour, and that vvvas done by the voice of the people. For vvhen they saw some one amongst them to surpasse the rest in vvealth and substance, they feared that through their excessiue riches and fauour they might conuert the popular liberty into Tyranny. To the preuenting vvhereof, they assembled themselves together, and by most voices declared Ostracisme against them, so that they vvvere cōstrained to depart & forsake the city for the space of ten yeares as banished men: Albeit they vvvere not culpable of any publicke or priuate crime, but very honest men. For the only suspicion that they might aspire vnto the Tirannie, caused them to be banished. *Thrasibulus* Duke of the Athenians, seeing some Citizens in his Common-vveale to surpasse others in riches and fauour, and fearing as it falleth out manie times, that it might be some cause for them the rather to attempt the vsurpation of Tirannie, he sent a messenger vnto the Philosopher *Peri-*

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ander (vvhho vvas accounted one of the seuen
sages of Greece) to aske his counsel and aduise
in a doubtfull matter: *Periander* aduertised by
the messenger, of *Thrasibulus* intent, answered
him neither by vvord nor vvriting (fearing per-
haps some reuenge) but onely by signes, lea-
ding the messenger into a field of Wheat, rea-
die to be cut downe, and before him cut off the
heads of corne that vv ere higher then the rest;
meaning thereby, that *Thrasibulus* ought to
take from amongst the rest of the Cittizens
those that did so farre excell the rest, and by
that meanes bring the Citty to equality. Now,
it is not only conuenient in a Common-vveale
that some citizens be not permitted to exceed
others in riches, and the rest left poor, but there
ought likewise regard to be had, that all the
stately and sumptuous building be not in one
place, but if it may be, equally disperfed throgh
euery street; to the end, that one place be not
made populous, and the rest of the Citty left
desolate. This mutation in a Common-vveale
happeneth sometimes by the hazard of For-
tune: as it chanced in times past to those of Ta-
rent, vvho lost all their Nobilitie in a battaile
against the Iapigeniens (vvhich vvas shortly
after that the Medes made war against Greece)
their Common-vveale being chaunged into a
popular

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popular gouernment . The Argiues after the ouerthrow of their men, by *Cleomenes* of Sparta, vvere constrained to receaue straungers into their Commonweale in stead of their citizens. The like happened in Athens, vwhen as their Nobilitie vvas almost vtterly ouerthrowne and slaine by the Lacedemonians.

Shame.

The eight cause is Shame, and that happens vwhen as vvithout anie tumult or sedition, the Citizens by a common consent do change the ancient forme of gouernment by some shamefull euill vvwhich is happened vnto them, hoping thereby to reform it, as for example: If in a Cōmonvveale the custome vvwere to chuse officers by election, and that it so fell out, that through the ambition, fauour, and couetousnes of some few Citizens, such vvwere chosen to beare rule, as vvwere vnnvworthie, and not capable of such dignity; and for very shame thereof, the Cittizens should make decrees and orders, that afterwards the Magistrates should be chosen by lot & not by election, now such chāge should proceed from shame. In like manner shame was the cause of the alteration of the Cōmonvveale of the Iewes in the time of *Samuel*, his sonne falling from the vertue and integrity of his fa-

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ther, becomming a corrupt iudge. They being
ashamed to depriue him from the estate of a
Iudge (fearing least they should by that means
make his father pensiue and sad, vvho vvvas a
man of admirable holinesse) the people deter-
mined by a common consent to chaunge the
forme of their Commonvveale, that in stead of
Iudges they might haue Kings, vvch vvvas
graunted them by *Samuel*, and by the com-
mandement of GOD *Saule* vvvas annoited
the first king of the Iewes; as appeareth in
the eight chapter of the first booke of kings.
The like mutation happened in the Common-
vveale of Herea, vvhere they vvvere vvvoont to
create their Magistrates by election, vvch
vvhen they saw was done by fauour, and that
the most vnworthie vvwere chosen, as it vvvere
vvvith shame, they chaunged their election into
Lots.

Negligence.

The ninth cause is Negligence, & that hap-
peneth vvhen as the cittizens are so negligent,
that they let them haue the gouernment of the
city, vvho loue not the present State: and so it
falleth out oftentimes, that vvhen such see thē-
selues placed in supreme dignitie and authori-
tie, they take boldnesse vpon them to chaunge
the

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the politicke gouernment into that forme that is most pleasing vnto them , and sortable to their affections: vvhich vvas brought to passe in the commonweale of the Hereans, vvhich was gouerned by the power of a few. But whē as *Heracleodorus* was chosen their Magistrate, he gaue the attempt, and chaunged their aun-
cient politicke estate from the power of a few, to a Popular gouernment.

Small occasions.

The tenth cause is Small occasions, and that happeneth vvhē either by dissembling, or otherwise, some small thing is taken either frō the Law, or from the politicke State. The common Prouerbe is, That from one small thing we come to another, and many a little, make a great; and so by little and little the authority of the State, or of the law is diminished: which they durst not haue done altogether, least it should be a matter too euident: as for example, there are some, who if you giue them an inch of liberty, they will take an ell, and by tract of time vse it altogether, which may be prooued by a naturall example. We see that a lingering ague doth that the first so little trouble the patient, that he scarcely can discerne that he is sick, but being let runne, and no remedy applied thereto

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thereto in time it draweth to the feuer Ecticke. This small diminishing by succession, caused in time past the ruine of the Ambraciotes, who from a little came to nothing.

Disagreement of manners.

The eleuenth cause is disagreement of manners. And that happeneth when as the parts of a City are vnequall, and vwhen as the one (to wit, the inferiour part) will needs bee equall vvith the superiour, seeking either to surmount it, or excell it. For example, it hath ben often scene, that vvhen as strangers haue ben receaued in a Commonvveale, they increased in such sort, that they did reuolt against the Cittizens. This feare *Pharoah* vvvas possessed vvithal, who seeing the Hebrewes (straungers in his Countrey) multiplie so mightily, that they vvvere in a manner as strong as the *Ægyptians*, he caused it to bee proclaimed, that the male children of the Hebrues should bee slaine as they vvvere borne: vvwhich he did to this end, because they increased (as he thought) ouermuch. Disagreement vvvas the cause of a great sedition at Rome, and because that the histories and Romanes Chronicles doe make mention thereof, as a matter very memorable, I will set downe one example. When as the common people of
Rome

Rome did perceiue, that none but the Noble Senatours, and such as were descended from them (vvhich they call *Patrij* of this Latine vvord *Pater*) vvere aduanced to the administration of politicke gouernment, and that they vvere depriued from any publicke charge and office, they arose against the Senators and the Nobility vvith such fury, that he that vvvas indued vvith most constancie amongst them, did tremble. And indeed the people had recourse to armes, vvvhich (as the Poet saith) Fury put into their hands, and so they incamped in the mountaine called *Mons sacer* beyond the flood Anien, three miles distant from Rome. The Senators and Nobility were in great perplexitie and perill, and the vvhole state of the Roman Empire, if any enemy had then presently assailed them. The Senate to appease the people, sent out *Menenius*, to persvade vvith thē, which opened vnto them the Apology of the rest of the members against the belly: by the vvvhich comparifon he appeased the fury of the people & caused thē to return to the city, cōditionally that they should afterwards haue their peculiar officers chosen from amongst them, vvvhich they called the Tribunes of the people.

Outward cause.

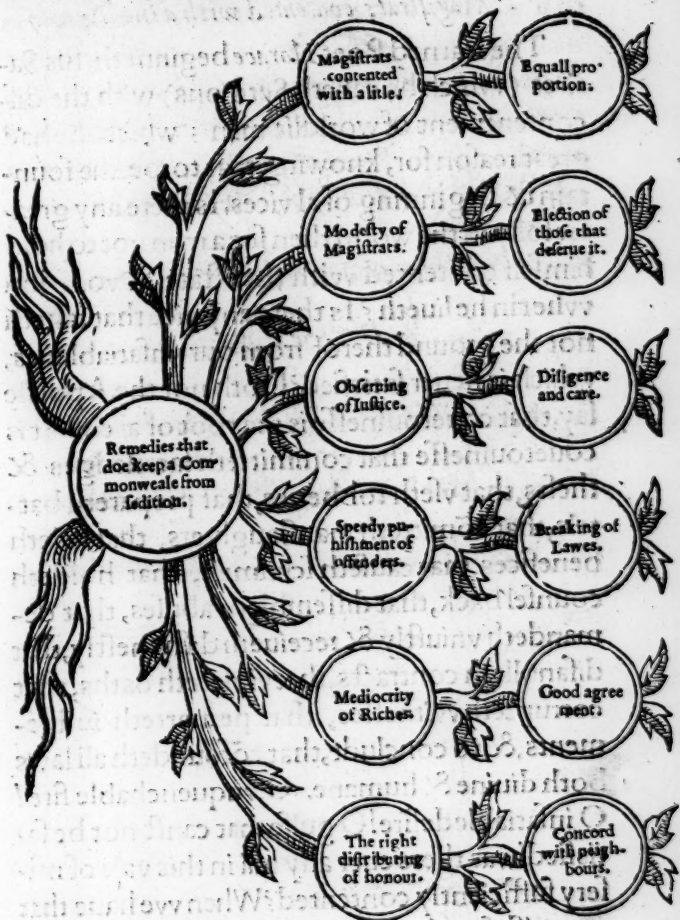
The twelfth occasion is Outward cause, and

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that

that is, when as a city or commonweale, either neare, or farre off, is an enemy vnto another: Especially vvhē one is more rich, more strong, and more mighty then the other: thē that which is the weakest & the meanest, is cōmonly oppressed by the strongest, & so is either made the same vvith the other, or vtterly brought to ruine: as we do read that many cities and Commonweales were changed by the Romanes, when as by force of Armes they did well nigh bring the vvhole vworld vnder their yoke: and hauing conquered Asia, Macedonia, Iudea, and Egypt, they reduced them into prouinces. Likewise, the Kingdome of Israell was ouerthrown by the Assyrians, and the kingdome of *Iuda* by the Babilonians; both the which were brought vnder their subiection, and the people led captiue. To conclude this Commentarie, we will say that sedition of the people, is the most extreame of all others, and doth soonest subiect a Commonweale.

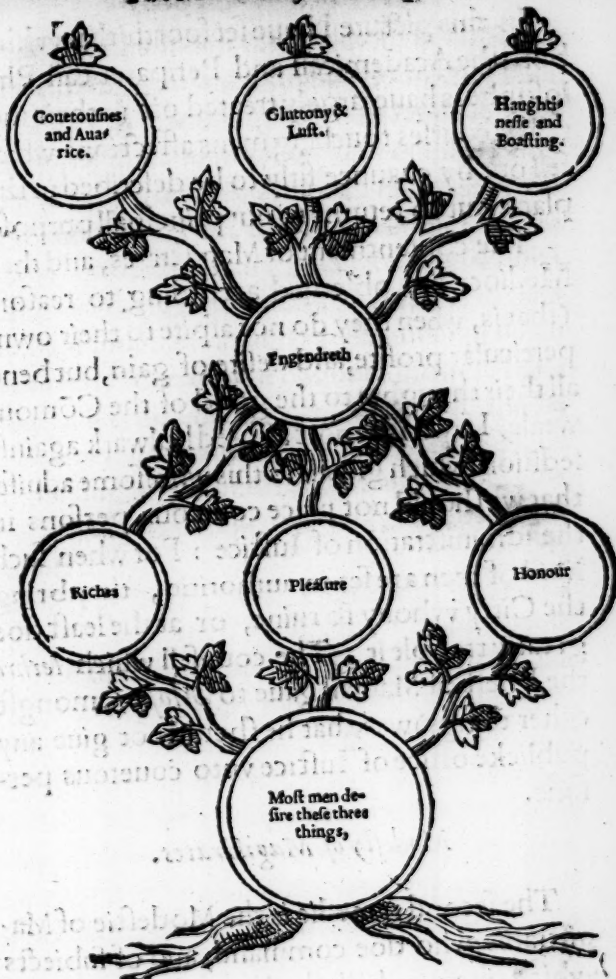
Now in as much as we ought to cure diseases by their opposite remedies, it behoouethys now to come vnto the twelue remedies which do contradict the former causes, and are a let and hinderance to seditions, & the ouerthrow of states, as may appeare by the tree and Commentaries following.



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Magistrats contented with a little.

The learned Poet *Horace* beginneth his Satires (vvhich he calleth Sermons) with the discontentment of worldlie men ; which he had great reason for, knowing that to be the fountain & beginning of al vices. Is there any greater folly in the world then for a man not to hold himself contented vvith the estate & vocation vvherin he liueth ? Is there any vice that taketh not the ground thereof from our vnsatiablenes, vvwhich is neuer satisfied ? Doth not the Apostle say, that couetousnesse is the root of al euil ? It is couetousnesse that committeth sacriledges & thefts, that vseth robberies, that prepareth battels, that cōmitteth manslaughteres, that selleth benefices, that causeth schismes, that holdeth counsel back, that dissembleth abuses, that demandeth vniustly & receiueth dishonestly, that disanulleth contracts, that violateth oaths, that corrupteth vvitnesses, that peruerteth iudgements, & to conclude, that cōfoundeth all laws both diuine & humane. O vnquenchable fire ! O insatiablenesse ! O gulse that canst not be satisfied ! was there euer any mā in this vale of misery sufficiently contented ? When vve haue that vve vvish for, then vve desire more. We neuer limit any end in that vvwhich vve haue, but rather in that vve seeke after. For (as the Poet saith) by how much riches abound, by so much is the loue and desire of monie increased.



In this picture I haue set forth that which both the Academicall and Peripateticall Philosophers haue largely treated off in their morall discourses touching mens affections, which fell out by chaunce fitly to be described in this place. But to returne to our principall purpose:

The contentment of Magistrates, and their Mediocritie, obserued according to reason, (that is, when they do not aspire to their owne perticular profite, and desire of gain, but bend all their thoughts to the good of the Cōmonweale) I say it is a most assured bulwark against sedition: which giueth vs this wholsome aduise, that we should not place couetous persons in the administration of Iustice : For when such kind of men are set in authoritie, they bring the City vvholly to ruine, or at the least doe greatly trouble it. The counsell which Iethro the Priest of Madian gaue to *Moses* (amongst other things) was, that he should not giue any publicke office of Iustice vnto couetous persons.

Modesty of Magistrates.

The second remedie is the Modestie of Magistrates vwho doe command, and of subiects vvhich obey, vvhich shall be rightly obserued vvhē as euerie one in their degree do content
them.

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themselves in their estate, without ambition to aspire to higher degrees of honour then their capacity wil beare: Wherein is to be noted, that euery one in his calling ought to consider what he is able to doe. *Horace* in his Art of Poetrie, exhorteth Poets not to vndertake any worke about the reach of their vnderstanding, which exhortation ought to stretch to all sorts of people. Moreouer, in as much as (according to the Prouerbe) euery man ought to looke further then his feet; if anie Citizen doe go about by vndue meanes to aspire vnto any publicke office, he ought to be banished from the Cittie, as a plague, or pestilence, yea as a pestiferous poison.

Observing of Iustice.

The third remedie is the observing of Iustice, and the seueritie thereof. For of necessity in euery Commonweale, it behooueth for the well gouerning thereof (according vnto the doctrine of *Solon*) to punish the wicked, and reward the good; expell and vterly root out vices, honour and recompence vertue. The wicked are punished, to the end, that innocencie may be preserved betweene good men: Good men are rewarded, to the end, that the hope of recompence might further encourage them

them, to the exercise of vertue, vvhich both the Grecians and the Romanes likewise diligently obserued, erecting publickely to the view of all the world the Images of vertuous men. The vse of setting vp of Images to vertuous men, as well at Rome, as elsewhere was left off in the declining Estate of the Empire, which began in the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. And one of the reasons thereof was, that in the beginning of the primitiue church many Christians that vvere men of authority, in zeal to the faith, caused many auncient Images at Rome to be beaten downe as Relickes of the ancient Idolatrie of the Heathens, and did forbid the erecting of anie other. And from that time the vse of Escuchons and Armory vvas found out, as a vvitnessse of their Nobility and vertue, vvhich amongst the Christian Nobility vve vse euē at this day; enriching their shields vvith mettals and combers, blasoning thē according to that vvhich they containe. And as learned *Buda* reciteth, the Armories vve vse at this present, succeeded the auncient Images, albeit they vvere farre more magnificent, and shewed greater vvorkmanship then our Escuchons, vvhich vve vse as an honour and reppard of vertue. Nowv vve ought not only to vse severity of Iustice against such citizens as offend, but euē against
the

the Magistrats theſelues, vvhē they abuſe their eſtate and dignity. For whē they perceiue the Magiſtrates theſelues when they offend, to be rigorouſly puniſhed for their offences, as priuate perſons, they indure their own puniſhmēt with patience. And this ought wel to be waigh- ed, that as in a mans face a little mole or wart is more apparent then a great ſkar in the body, ſo vices (though they be but ſmal) are ſooner ſeen in Princes and Magiſtrats, then great faults in men of meane eſtate.

Speedy puniſhment of offenders.

The fourth remedy is, Speedy puniſhmēt of offenders without delay: for knowing that for their wickednes & miſcheefe they are daily apprehēded, examined, that witneſſes are brought againſt thē face to face, that they are tormēted, cōdemned, & according to their demerites executed (if before the executiō through the negligence of Magiſtrats they haue any time & reſpit) thinking to ſaue their liues and eſcape puniſhment (wherunto their conſcience condemneth them as guilty) they moue ſedition in the Commonweale; & as men diſpairing of their liues, they do their beſt to ſaue theſelues: which they could neuer attempt, if after their cōdemning they were ſpeedily executed.

Mediocrity of goods.

The fifth remedy is Mediocrity of the goods of the Citizens: according vnto the which, we ought to haue regard vnto euery mans calling, whereby order ought to be taken, that there be no excesse, or ouermuch exceeding in power, or riches. And if it happen that any subiect come to such ouergreat fauour, credite, power, or riches, that he may therby attempt the vsurpation of Tyrannie in the Commonweale; he ought betimes to be banished, and by that meanes the publicke liberty shal be preserved, all excesse being taken away. Which *Aristophanes* did wisely teach, when as in his Tragedy he raised *Pericles* from Hell, exhorting the Magistrates and politicke Gouvernours not to nourish a Lion in their cities. For if they bring him vp vvhē he is little, they must of necessity obay him vvhē he is growne greater. By this similitude he gaue them to vnderstand, that the yong children of Noblemen, and of rich parentage, ought to be checked, and their insolencies corrected, vvhile they are as yong Lions; otherwise, they vwill prooue intollerable vvhē they come to age, and vve must be forced to obay him as the Lion vvhē he is great, who of necessity we must suffer. It is great folly not to indure

dure the forces vvhich vve our selues haue nor
rished. Moreouer, Mediocrity was wont to be
so much esteemed, that the learned Poet *Ho-
race* calleth it golden: For as gold doth surpasse
all other mettals in estimation, so doth Medio-
critie all other things in assurance, as contrarily
excesse is vnassured, and in danger to be sha-
ken. Mediocrity holdeth the middest between
excesse and want, and the true mean is that
vvhich taketh part of the two extreames. *Ari-
stotle* in his fourth booke of the *Polickes*, saith:
That by how much any thing is farr off from
the middest, by so much is it worse: and by how
much it approacheth thereunto, so much the
better it is. The Greeke Epigram saith, That
whosoever eateth ouermuch honie, that vvhich
is ouermuch (albeit be verie sweet) conuer-
teth into most bitter choller: vnderstanding
thereby, that as all that is inough is good, so all
that is ouermuch, is bad. *Bachus* said, That the
Northerne wind is too cold, and the Southerne
wind too hot, but the Westerne vvind is tem-
perate. And indeed it is that wind that clotherh
the earth, and the rest being either too hot, or
too cold, doe make it naked. What shall we
say more? All the Grecian, Arabian, and Latine
Philisitions, doe all vvith a common consent
hold this, that the health of mans bodie confi-

steth in mediocritie, harmony, and temperature of humors and qualities; and sicknesse proceedeth of excesse. *Phobus* admonished *Phaeron*, and *Dedalus* his sonne *Icarus* to keep a meane, which they did not; and so it turned to their destruction: for the one was burned, and the other drowned. It resteth to conclude this title, that Mediocritie is necessary for the conservation of a Commonweale, yea of al other things whatsoeuer.

The right distributing of honour.

The sixt remedy is, The right distributing of honor and dignity. For they which do merite to be honoured and aduanced by their vertue vnto publicke offices, ought (without all doubt) be preferred before others. And contrarily, they which are vnworthie to be promoted to such honor, in regard of their vices ought altogether to be excluded fro any office or dignitie in the Commonweale, as infected & rotten sheepe ought to be excluded fro the whole and sound which being obserued, no vertuous Citizen will thinke himselfe to be despised; & the vicious shall haue no cause to complaine, that he is not called to any office, when he shall know that his owne vice is cause thereof. For (as the Satyricall Poet saith) The sting of a mans

owne conscience, is the first iudge of euery one. *Horace* in one of his Epistles saith : That to be innocent of crime, & to feele that a man is free from offence, is a brasen & impregnable tower to euery one. For innocency giueth great assurance to the innocent. And contrarily, when a man in his owne conscience is guiltie, he is alwayes in feare to be punished for his offence. Moreouer, Kings and Princes ought aboue all things to be carefull, that they put not covetous men, & such as haue a large conscience in publick offices & authority, if they intend not to make shepheards of vvolues. *Vespasian* was much noted, that in the beginning of his reign he gaue the greatest dignities of Rome vnto the greatest theues he could find in the Commonweale: and when he was asked the occasion why he did so, seeing that authoritie giueth occasion vnto the vicked to become worse, he answered, that he serued his turne with such officers, as with sponges, which when they had drunke in as much moisture as they could, he would wring the dry: meaning to take fro them both their goods & their life. This policy in a Prince (to say the troth) was worth litle, for *Vespasian* himself was the theef, which vice he was infected withall through faintnesse of heart, & a passionature, desiring to

enrich his cofers, by the theft of his owne officers;

Equall proportion.

The seventh remedie is Equall proportion. By the vvhich Mediocritie & reason being obserued, one part of the Commonweale is not suffered to exceed & increase ouermuch aboute the rest, which being obserued, the Commonweale vwill remaine whole, and entire, & without any denision. As by a naturall example vve may perceiue: We see that mans body is vwell disposed, and in health, and exerciseth duly his naturall offices, when one humour, or quality doth not exceed another: For (as I haue said before) superfluity causeth diseases; & good proportion and equality of qualities and humors, occasioneth health. Besides there are two sorts of equality, to wit, of quantity, and of proportion. Equality of quantity, is required in iustice commutative, to the end, that euerie one may take as much as he ought. Equality of proportion is to be vsed in respect of reuyard. Moreover, proportion is taken two kind of wayes, the one according to the imposition of the name thereof, and so it is the habitude of one quantity to another, according to the excesse determined, or made equall. Another way it is

taken,

toooken, to signifie the habitude of euery thing, as for example, of the matter to the forme, of the power to the act, of that vvhich is finite to that vvhich is infinite, of the creature to the Creator.

Election of those that deserue it.

The eight remedie is, Election of those that deserue it. In euery Commonweale we ought to be very prudent in the choise of Magistrats, which (as Plato saith) are in the Commonweale, as the eies in mans bodie. And as the bodie cannot guide it selfe without eies (which are the Organicall instruments of sight) so a politicke bodie cannot be gouerned vwithout Magistrates, vvhich (if they be such as they ought) doe cause a City to flourish: And contrarily, if they be euill they bring it to ruine. *Iethro* counselled *Moyse* to chuse such Magistrates and Iudges ouer the people of Israell, as vv ere men tried and approoued to hate couetousnes (as hath ben said before.) Such as are Magistrates ought to thinke vpon the threatening of the Apostle, saying, Desire not to haue authoritie ouer others, for they vvhich beare rule, doe drawe great iudgement vpon themselves. Besides, euery Magistrate ought to be true in vword, iust in iudgement, in counsell
cleare

The Mirror of Politie.

clear sighted, in his office faithfull, constant in his behavior, in his going graue, in his looks mild, towards the vicked seuer, towards the good gentle and gracious, and to be short, he ought to be the example and mirror of all vertue. And in as much as (according to the saying of *Seneca*) the people doe giue more credite to their eies, then to their eares, that is, For as much as they doe beleue rather that which they see, then that which they heare; and the vway to instruct the common sort by precepts is long, & by example verie short, and of great efficacie: It behoueth him rather to be carefull of that which he doth, thē that which he saith; because the people take greater heed to that which is done, then that which is said. And whatsoeuer the Magistat saith, whether it be good or bad, the people ground their opinion vpon his actions: vwherefore he ought to imagine, that he is to them as the white to the arrow, vwhereat they all do aime.

Diligence and care.

The ninth remedie is care and diligence, to make choice of such for Magistrates and principal officers, vwho do loue that kind of Commonweale vwherein they liue; and not those that seek to alter it: vwhich they will endeavour

to effect vwhen they are placed in authoritie. As for example, if the Senate had not chosen *Silla* to be Dictator, he had not made that butcherie and massacre of Citizens as hee did at Rome making the office perpetuall, whereas by the auncient custome it vvas vwoont to last but sixe months. Likewise, if *Iulius Caesar* had not ben chosen to goe against the Gauls, and the Senate had not vndiscreetly giuen him that great authoritie, he had not changed the Commonweale as he did, from an Aristocratie to a Monarchie (or rather to a Tyrannie) suppressing as vwell the authoritie of the Senate, as the libertie of the people, vvhich many good men seeking to defend, they were most cruellie slaine and banished.

Breaking of Lawes.

The tenth remedie is, Breaking of lawes. Which is to be vnderstood, vwhen the Magistrates are carefull, not to dissemble, vwhen any subiect dooth indeuour to breake the Lawes: Which at the beginning is not done altogether, forthen the matter should be too apparant, but by little and little, to the end it may not be perceiued. And if this be dissembled or tolerated by the Magistrates, it sheweth greater,

and commeth to infringe openly and vnhollie
the law, which is the sound and firme founda-
tion of euery Commonweale; and that failing,
the politicke building commeth to ruine. *Aristo-
tles* in the eighth Chapter of the fift booke of
his Politickes, teaching vs how to preferue a
Commonweale, saith: In euery well ordered
societie well settled by good Lawes, vve ought
to take great heed, that vve doe not change the
least point in them, and to haue great care, that
no alteration at all be made, which it behoo-
ueth vs to look vnto at the first: For if resistāce
be not made at the beginning, it happeneth as
vve see fall out in a mans bodie, where if at the
first speedy remedie be not giuen to many di-
seases, they become in the end incurable. The
Apostle vriting to the Colossians, hath so
much exalted the law, that he called it the bond
of perfection. Saint Augustine vriting to Ma-
cedonius saith: That Princely power, the Ma-
gistrate condemning, the hangman executing,
the secular arme strengthening, the master cō-
manding, the father correcting, are not ordai-
ned in vaine; for euerie one of these haue their
proper causes, their reasons, and their profite.
When euerie one of them are feared, the vvic-
ked are chastised, and the good liue in assu-
rance amongst them; that after the Lawe is

once established and approved, we ought not to iudge it, but live according vnto it. To be short, the Law in a Citie is as the soule in a bodie: and like as the bodie without the soule, cometh to ruine, even so the Commonweale without the Law, is soone brought to destruction.

Good agreement.

The eleuenth remedie is, Good agreement: And that is, when as to parts that are vnlike, they doe bestow such office as rightly belongeth thereto, taking away all occasion of discord, which might happen by reason of disagreement. A Commonweale cannot be established without such parts as are vnlike. For some are Priests, othes Magistrates, some Noblemen, others Burgeses, some Merchants, some Artificers, some Labouring men, who are all vnlike in their exercise and trade of life: as likewise we see mans bodie is framed of vnlike members, for the eie resembleth not the hand, nor the hand the foot, nor the foot the head; and like as they are different in forme, so are they likewise distinct in office: For the hand toucheth, the eie seeth, the foot walketh, and so of the rest. And albeit that the said members

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are vnlikely in forme and office, yet are they all reduced to one harmony, and do agree in such sort together, that the one doth not vsurpe the office which is by nature destinate to another. For as the eye doth not entermeddle with touching, nor the hand with seeing, so likewise in a politicke body the dissimilitude of the parts thereof breedeth good agreement, vwhen euery part thereof doeth exercise the office belonging vnto it selfe, without meddling with anothers calling: as vwhen the Priests are vsed about Ceremonies and Religion, Noblemen about Arms, Artificers about Handicrafts, &c. euery one employing himselfe about his owne office, not intruding himselfe into anothers vocation, the Commonweale shall agree in perfect harmony: Notwithstanding the dissimilitude of the parts thereof, it shall be at quiet. But if the Priests go about to exercise Armes, and the Noblemen sacrifices, the Commonweale would come to confusion and vtter ruine, as it would happen vnto the body of man, if one member should vnder take anothers office.

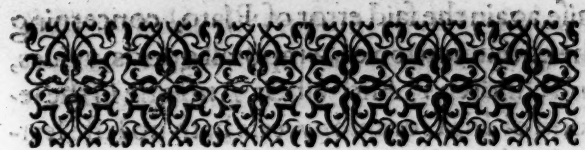
Concord with Neighbours.
The twelfth and last remedy to withstand ciuile commotions is, *Concord with Neigh-*

hours. For life may be accounted as no life, if it be not in peace and tranquillity. And albeit it is good and praiseworthy to be in league and friendship vwith those that are farre off, yea with all men; yet notwithstanding, it is more necessary to be at good agreement with ones neighbours, vvho at all times may either help or hinder. To which purpose, the common Prouerbe saith, That vvho so hath a good neighbor, hath a good morrow. *Hesiodus* a most auncient Greeke Poet in his booke of daies and works, esteemeth a good neighbour to be the soueraine good both in the Country, and in the City. Now euery good politicke Gouvernour ought to endenour all that in him lyeth, to vvwin the fauour and grace of those Commonweales that are neare vvnto him, in regard of the great good that may come thereof, and the harme that may happen by the contrary. For examples herein, the Etolians and the Acarnanians vvvere such mortall enemies, that they vvvere the ouerthrow the one of the other. The like whereof fell out betweene the Carthaginians and the Bitorians. *Pyrrus* complaines greatly of the discord betweene those of Mantua vvhere he vvvas borne, and of Cremona. *Plutarch* reciteth, that *Themistocles* desiring to sell a farme of his, caused a common crier to pub-

lish the goodnesse and fertility thereof, and amongst other commodities, that there vvere good and quiet neighbors about it, esteeming that the good neighbourhood would cause it to be sold at a higher rate. To conclude this title, I exhort the Magistrates of all Cities to purchase the grace and fauour of other Townes, especially of their neighbours, and that being gotten, to entertaine them in peace and concord, which as an inheritance Iesus Christ left here below to those that are his.



Is



In as much, gentle Reader, as the most pernicious plague that may befall any politicke body, is sedition and mutiny among Citizens, (for the eschewing whereof we haue strained the sinewes of our weake and feeble skil to comment vpon the former trees) also that the Platonicall Commonweale (which Plato attributeth to Socrates) did minister matter of sedition in regard of the community of goods, wiues, and children, more then any other, we haue hereinto inserted this which followeth.



A Confutation of Platos Commonweale, who therein ordained, that among fellow Citizens, both goods, wiues, and children should be common, and that no man should haue any thing proper or particuler. Also of the sect of the Nicholaites, who in the primitive church reuiued the said error: As likewise, euen in our daies (I cannot conceiue by what diuillish instigation) some haue endeououred also to raise

raise again the said error of Plato, concerning the communication of temporall goods, viues, and children. And albeit Aristotle in the second of his Commonweale hath no lesse learnedly then eloquently confuted the said error, yet some (to vvhom all publicke tranquillity is odious) doe seeke by sundry reasons (more apparant then forcible) to approue, That among Christians nothing ought to be proper or priuate, but that among them, both goods viues and children ought to be common; to the end, the rather too root out all humane affections, vvvhich are more vehement in the behalfe of viues and children, then of any other thing: likewise, that no commonweale can be of any continuance, vnlesse the citizens affections be rooted out; vvvhich can neuer be done, so long as viues, children, and goods, bee priuate and particular. This error is of no smal importance, for vvhere it not especially aboue all other errors suppressed, it could not but stirre vp Popular sedition, and breed the subuersion of euery commonweale. Nowv, among all other principles that confute this error, this is one: As the lawfull diuision of goods, and the forme of marriage be the ordinance of God (as it is euident) likewise, that Gods ordinance may not by any humane counsell be altered or changed; so it followveth,

followeth that the diuision, as vuell of goods, as of vviues and children, is immutable, and consequently the community of goods, wiues, and children, is a matter directly repugnant to the ordinance of God, and consequently reproueable. Such as take the vpholding of gouernments to be the sole vvorke of man, are greatly deceiued, for of necessity they are to beleue that the same proceedeth from the diuine counsel & prouidence, without the which neither the round frame of the vvorld, neither any city can possibly continue.

Moreover, *Aristotle* in the place aboue mentioned prooueth the community of goods, vviues and childrē, to be repugnant to nature, and consequently neither receiueable, neither tollerable, and so proued by Experience, the mother of knowledge. Neither can vve find by any credible Authour, Iew, Grecian, Latinist, or Barbarian; that this politicke institution of *Plato*, vvas euer by any Nation accepted, (I meane as concerning community of vviues or children) neither vvas there euer such a Commonweale (as *Plato* in his conceit forged in the name of *Socrates*) put in practise, but vvas rather imaginatiue then reall; as by similitude the like vvee may say of the same Commonweale vvhich *Sir Thomas More* describeth in

his Vtopia. Againe, were goods common, we should thereof reape many inconueniences, among the rest, we should see an infinite multitude of idle and slothfull vretches born into the world, as *Horace* saith, only to deceiue and wast the goods of the earth without labor, feed and cloth themselves with the goods of those that with the sweat of their browes and vexation of mind, do daily get their livings, whilst the said idle drones would looke to be fed and clothed out of the common purse; contrary to all laws both of God and man, which do command vs in the sweate of our browes, that is, in the labour of our bodies, to eat our bread. The kingly Prophet crieth out, saying, Thou shalt eat the labors of thy hands, O well is thee, and happy shalt thou be. *S. Paule* a vessel of election, was not ashamed to say, that in preaching the gospell he had not ben chargeable or troublesome to any: For whatsoeuer was needfull for the sustentation of him and his family, hee had earned it with the labor of his hands, as we may see in the Acts of the Apostles. Likevvise, were women and children common, we should find innumerable inconueniences in the Commonweale, among many which would be too long to be spoken of, this should not be the least, considering that nature brings forth both men and

women,

The Mirrour of Politie.

vvomē, some fairer then other some, according to the saying of *Homer* concerning *Achille* and *Thersites*, euery man for the satisfying of his lusts, vvould seize vpō the fairest, euē by the instinct of nature, which doth incline vs thereunto, vvhereof vvould ensue sedition, batterie, and murder, vvith the disturbance of all publicke tranquillity, which disturbance subuerteth all ciuile society. For (as *Salust* saith) by concord small things doe increafe and grow great, but by discord great thinges are diminished and brought to naught. Besides, vvere vvives common and vncertaine, the children of them begotten must also be vncertaine, and so vvould no man take care to feed, cloth, or bring them vp in any discipline or art, either liberall or mechanicall: The reason, no man could thinke those children to be of his own begetting, neither could any man beare any assured fatherly affection to an vncertaine child. Besides, vvere not naturall reason sufficient to confute this error, yet is it confuted by the vvord of God in these vvords: Man shall forsake father and mother, and cleaue to his vvife. This vvord doth note a perticular property, vvich is repugnāt to all community. For that vvich is mine, is not another mans, and that vvich is another mans, is not mine. Again, as vvell in the Deca-

The Mirrour of Policie.

logue, as in the Gospel, Adulterie is forbidde; but in common vvomen there cannot properly be any Adulterie: For adulterie is vvhere one man doth carnally know another mans vvife, but where vvomen are common, they belong not rather to one then to another. Moreouer, the law of God, as also the Gospell, doe command vs to obey our superiors and Magistrats, but it is vvell knowne, that Princes and Magistrates doe allow perticularity of goods, wiuues, and children. It doth therefore follow, that cōmunitie of goods, wviues, and children, is contrarie to the ordinance of God, for the holy decree saith, God deliuereth to mankind all humane Lawes, by Emperors and rulers of the vvorld. But vvhat need vve any further proofes, Alinighty God by his commandement in the Decalogue, forbiddeth the robbing of our neighbour; according to which commaundement euery man is to be cōtent with that which is his own. God then in the same words approueth the perticular propriety of goods, so long as they be lawfully gotten. Were goods as cōmon to one as to another, there could bee no theft, sith euery man hath a share or interest, & no man can steale that is his owne. For theft is the purloining of that vvhich is another mans, against the owners wil. For farther cōfirmation

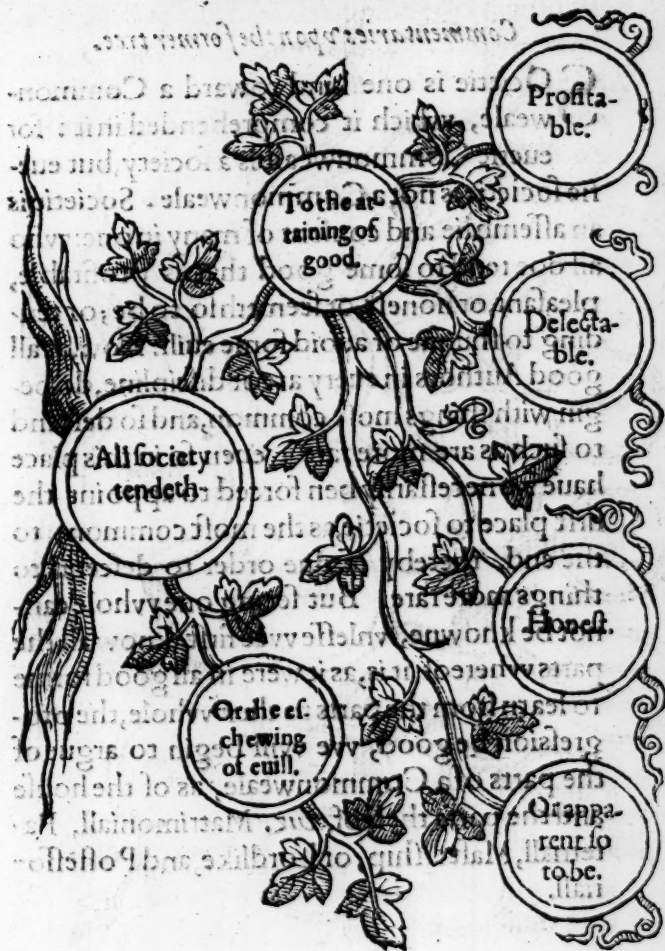
of our words: The land of promise was diu-
ded to the children of Israell, Gods chosen
people by his owne commandement, and to
euerie tribe was his portion limited, and euerie
one enioyned to be contented with his owne
bounds and limits, as appeareth in the book of
Iosua. God therefore doth approue propriety
of goods, and reproveth communitie of the
same. Had it been Gods will that his people
should haue liued in community of goods,
wiues, and children (according to Platos Co-
monweale) he would neuer haue commanded
the holy land to be diuided, neither haue cau-
sed any perticular distribution to haue beene
made to the twelue Tribes. This error was rai-
sed in the Apostles time by an Arch-hereticke,
called Nicholas of Antioch, who taught, that
among Christians, both goods, wiues, & chil-
dren ought to be common: He, to set others an
example, imparted his wiue to all that list, albeit
she were both yong and fair: but that error did
the Apostles condemne, and the sectaries ther-
of were tearmed Nicholaites, of the name of
their founder, called Nicholas. Of these Nicho-
laites doe the Apostles make mention, where-
vve may plainely read, that God commended
the Angell for hating the Nicholaites. Now, to
end this matter, these disturbers of common

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trāquility ought to be rooted out, as rottē mē-
bers out of euery politick body. For in seeking
to innouate the course of mans life, so manie
ages obserued, they tend only to stir vp fediti-
on in cities, to make subjects reuolt from their
princes, and to incense the rude and mutinous
commonalty against Magistrates; neither doe
they aime at any other matter. The Orator De-
mosthenes reporteth, that the Locrians ob-
serued one law, which imported, that if any Ci-
tizen of the said Commonweale intended to
bring in any law, cōming to propound it pub-
lickly to the people, he must come with a hal-
ter about his necke, to the end that if the peo-
ple could not admit his new law, he might pre-
sently be strangled in recompence of his pre-
sumption. This rigour was decreed, to the end
to prevent the alteration of their laws & course
of life, for that euery alteration endangereth the
state of the Commonweale. Herodotus saith,
That he is a mad man, that will seek to alter the
laws, and to change his course of life. The Wise
man in his Ecclesiasticus saith, The adder shall
sting him that breaketh the hedge: which the
doctors doe expound to concerne those that
seek to dissolue ancient lawes and customes.

copy of Aristotle's Politicks, which is the
source of all the rest, and is the

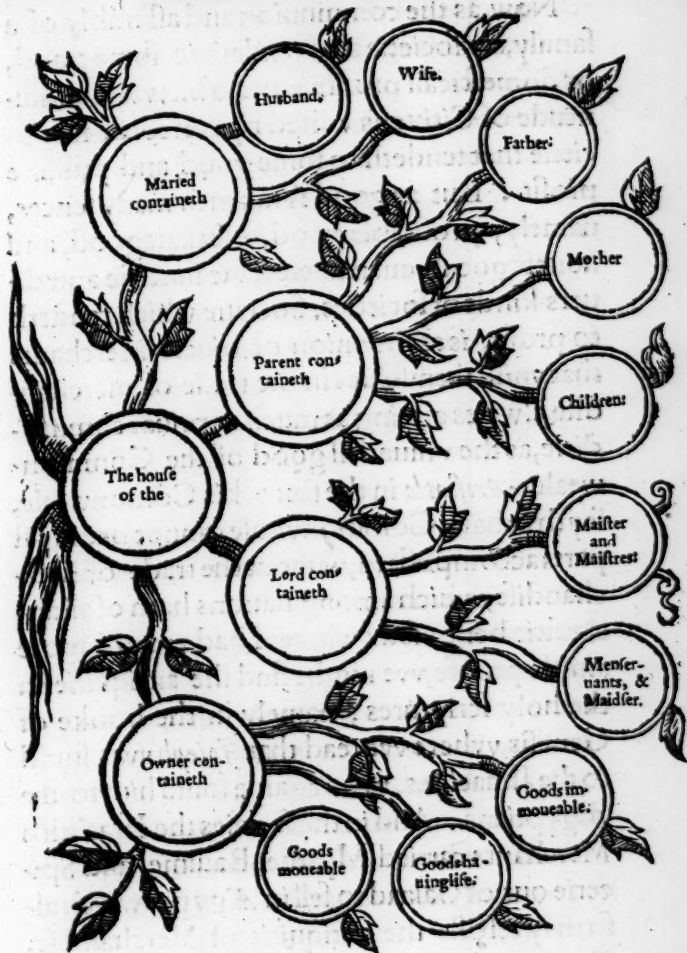
The Mirror of Politie.



Commentaries vpon the former tree.

SOciety is one kind toward a Commonweale, which it comprehended in it: for euerie Commonweale is a society, but euerie societie is not a Commonweale. Societie is an assemblie and consent of many in one: vwho all doe tend to some good that is profitable, pleasant, or honest, or seemeth so to be; or tending to shunne or auoid some euill. Now, as all good Authors in euery art or discipline, do begin with things most common, and so descend to such as are more rare; euen so in this place haue we necessarily ben forced to appoint the first place to societie, as the most common; to the end, thereby in due order to descend to things more rare. But seeing one vvhole cannot be knowne, vnlesse vve first know all the parts vvhich it is, as it were in all good forme to learn from the parts to their vvhole, the progression be good, vve will begin to argue of the parts of a Commonweale, as of the house and the parts thereof, *viz.* Matrimoniall, Paternall, Mastership, or Lordlike, and Possessoriall.

The Mirrour of Policie.



Now, as the communion and assembly of a family, is a societie that tendeth to some good, or domesticall profite, euen so likewise a multitude of Citizens vnited by concord, is a societie that tendeth to some good and publike profit. But as good is taken in many senses, namely, profitable good, pleasant good, and honest good; euen so we haue sundrie and diuers kinds of societies. Societie which tendeth to profit, is as the vnion of diuers Merchants that vnite themselues in the trade of merchandise, alwaies aiming as much at priuat commoditie, as the vniuersall good of the Commonweale. *Aristotle* in the sixth of his *Cōmonweale*, sayth, that a Commonweale cannot bee in all parts accomplished, without the trade of Merchandise, vvhich among nations hath of all antiquitie bene vsed: whereof, had vve not more ample prooffe, vve might find the antiquitie in the holy scriptures, namely in the booke of *Genesis*, vvhere vve read that *Ioseph* vvas sold to the *Ismaelites*, vvho againe sold him to the *Egyptians*. And in those daies the *Israelitish* Merchants carried *Myrrhe*, *Baulme*, and *Spicerie* out of *Galaad* to sell in *Egypt*: which also may testifie the antiquitie of Merchandise. Our French Gentry vvoulde thinke it a dishonour to their Nobilitie to deale vvith the trade

of merchandise, as accounting it to bee a base
exercise: but the Italian Nobilitie can make vse
of it, as also can the kings of Portugal, vvhob
their trade of merchandise haue discovered vn-
to vs sundrie Regiōs vnknown to the auntient
Geographers, scituat vnder the Pole-Arctike,
vvhich is to vs continually hidden, as vvee may
read in sundry books of the Portugals voia-
ges. Yet (as one matter drawes on another) I can-
not like of certaine Noblemen Gascogns, Al-
bigeois, and Auraguēs (vvhose names for their
honours I do conceale) that becomming mer-
chants of graine, doe hoord it vp vntill it grow
very deere, or that God send any barrenesse
or famine, and then doe they pinch the poore
commons at their pleasure; vvhich cannot be
done vwithout a great burthen to their consci-
ences, or the Scriptures are false, vvhich curse
those that hide vp the Corne to the end to sell
it deere in time of scarcitie: the vvordes are not
mine, but set downe by *Salomon, Proverbs 11.*
The true Societie of Merchants aimeth at the
marke of commoditie as vvell priuate as pub-
like. That Societie vvhich tendeth to delight &
pleasure, is the assemblie of sundrie young lo-
uers among themselues, to the end vwith more
facilitie to enioy their carnall pleasures: as vve
read in the Fables of the knights of the round
table,

table, or rather the fooleries; for that they containe neither good inuention, nor good disposition, vvhich notwithstanding many noble personages both men and women, haue heretofore foolishly spent their time, or rather lost it in the reading of them. But as for the Societie that tendeth to honestie, it is the assemblie of many students, vvhich they make for the loue of learning and attaining to knowledge: as did in olde time sundrie Philosophers that followed the great *Appolonius Thyaneus*, a Pithagoricall Philosopher, into India to see the Bragmans and Gymnosophists, with the great *Hiarcas* and the table of the Sonne, as wee may see in the life of the said *Appolonius* vvritten by *Philostratus*.

The like Societie was there among certaine studious persons, Gauls and Spaniards, vvho vvvent from their natieue countries vvith tedious iournies, towards Rome, personally to behold the Oratour and most excellent Historiographer Titus Liuius: in vvhome we are to note, that the only fame of a learned man could draw vnto him euen out of far countries, those men vvhom the glorie and magnificence of Rome (at that time the head of the vvorld) vvvas not able to bring. Good God, vvhat zeale, vvhar loue of learning, vvhat reputation of doctrine?

What

What is become of those times? where is that happie age? Such a Societie had Pithagoras with him when he went to see at the Citie of Memphis (vvhich in these daies we cal Alcaire) the Egyptian Priests and Philosophers, to the end to learne their Religion and Ceremonies. Such and the like Societie had the diuine Philosopher Plato when he departed from Athens to goe likewise into Egypt, and when he went to see Architas the Tarentine Philosopher, and to trauaile through the vvhole region of Italie, in former times named the greater Greece. The like Societie was amongst the Druides, Gaulish Philosophers, vvho for their learning vv ere famous throughout the vvhole vvorld, as Iulius Cæsar in his Commentaries doth report.

Strabo in the fourth booke of his Geographie, speaking of the Druides, sayth that they had the name to bee most Iust, yea even of such integritie, that the decision and iudgement of all matters of importance, and difficult affairs both priuat and publike, vv ere referred to them, neither vvould the Gaules, at any time aduenture the hazard of any conflict or Battaille, but by the decree and counsaile of the sayd Druides.

In this Societie vv ere there also very many

learned women, of whom the Roman emperor *Aurelian* (as *Vopiscus* in his life dooth report) did aske counsaile. These *Druides* did usually sacrifice men, and in regard of that cruelty were they utterly abolished and rooted out by the Emperour *Claudius*, as *Tranquillus* in his life doth set downe : howbeit *Plinie* attributeth their destruction to the Emperor *Tiberius*. But if it be well considered, we shal not find any discordance or contradiction herein, for *Claudius* was also called *Tiberius*, as we may proue by the famous historiographer *Iosephus*, who in the prescript forme of *Claudius* Edict, nameth him *Tiberius*, saying, *Tiberius, Claudius, Caesar, Pius, Germanicus, Tribunitie potestatis, &c.* Of these *Druides* doth *Lucan* make mention in his first booke of the *Pharsalian* warres. But in our daies there is not in Fraunce any memorie or monument of Colledge or habitation of the said *Druides*, albeit by coniecture of some ruines yet remaining, diuers learned men woulde presume that they inhabited a place called *Dreux* in the diocesse of *Chartres* : and to say the truth, the name of the place hath some correspondence with the name *Druides*. Now if the antient *Gauls*, into whose Monarchie the French haue happily succeeded, gate them a name and perpetuall renowne, through
the

the societie and colledge of the Druides, wee haue not lost any part thereof at this present, but rather encreased the same : for throughout the rest of the world shall ye not find such Societies and colleges of learned men as are in Fraunce, namely in the capitall towne and roiall citie of Paris. The most learned man Iouian Pontane, albeit an Italian, and one vvho in regard of his honourable place in the Court of his maister the king of Naples, was an enimie to the French nation, vvho chalēged the kingdom, and by force of armes through the conquest of king Charles the eight, held it in their possession ; could not but yeeld this commendation to the French, That in Paris (the capitall citie of France) there vv ere (when he wrot his learned books of obedience) ten thousand students . This commendation proceeding from the mouth of an enimie to Fraunce, can not incur any suspicion : neither are there to be found any such Colleges for the studie of the Laws & Decrees, as in our citie of Tholouze. Pope Clement the fifth, in his Clementines, *tit. De Magistris*, mentioneth foure famous vniuersities, namely Boulougne in Italie, Paris in Fraunce, Salamanca in Spaine; and Oxford in England: yet our Vniuersitie of Tholouze in the exercise of the Lawes and Decrees, and in
numbe

number of Schollers surpasseth all the rest . I
write not vpon affection, neither doe I more
amplie aduow any thing, for the very euidence
of the matter is prooffe sufficient.

Now to proceede in the declaration of our
tree : As there is some true good, as heretofore
vve haue prooued, so is there some good which
beareth only the likenesse of good, and is in-
deed no good ; only it beareth the shew, as ri-
ches gotten by deceit, theft, vsurie, fraud, &c.
also as such pleasures of the flesh as are not ta-
ken in mariage. Likewise as many vices cloked
and hidden vnder the shadow of vertue, as the
pilling and polling, briberie and theft, vsed by
fundrie practitioners, scriueners, sollicitors, and
other such like plagues of a Commonwealth,
vwho vnder pretence of the charges of Law, do
rob and steale. As likewise there is some good
Societie that aimeth at true and firme good, so
is there also some bad societie vvhich aimeth at
an apparent but not existent good : as vwhen
there is in the Commonweale a congregation
or monopoly of fundrie rash, headie, foolishhe,
and vnskilfull yoong men: As in Rome, when
the children of the noblest houses gathered in-
to a societie and made a monopolie to restore
into the citie the Tarquines, vwho for their ty-
rannie togither vwith the violence committed

in the person of Lucrece, had bene banished and deposed from the roiall dignitie, as vvee may read in *Titus Linius* in his first Decad, and in *Ouides Fastes*. Such and the like bad societie had Cateline gathered at Rome, when he conspired against the Commonweale, and Cicero then consull: vvhich is most eloquently vvritten by *Salust*, of vvwhose vvorks the iniquitie of the time with the irruption of the Gothes, haue left vs but two small fragments, namely the history aforesaid, and the vvarrs of Iugurth, but haue defrauded vs of his Annals from the foundation of Rome to his time: by vvvhich history he purchased the fame and honoure of the first place amongall Latine historiographers, as *Martiall* in his Epigrams doth testifie. Such and almost the like societie and Monopolie made the noblemen and Romane senatours against Iulius Cæsar, vnder the conducte of Brutus and Cæsius, two noble men, the chiefe authours of the death of the said Cæsar in the Senat house, as *Plutarch* rehearseth in the liues of Brutus, Cæsius, & Iulius Cæsar: also *Tranquillus* in the life of the same Cæsar. Howbeit the authours of this societie or monopoly had some pretence of reason, for that Cæsar had altered the state, vvvhich from the deposing of their kings vntil then, had bene Aristocraticall.

R

But

But vvhat doe we seeke to reuiue the Exam-
ples of bad Societies among forraine nations,
vvhen we haue as many domesticall examples
to be remembered of all posteritie. Could any
of the former Societies bee more pernicious
than the same that vvvas vvhen I vvvas a young
man, in this towne, vvhen *Guyot* the captain of
the vvatch, vvith his companie that vvatched
with him, hauing secret intelligence vvith other
theeues that lay vvithout the towne, vnder co-
lour of exercising his office as vvell vvithin as
vvithout the towne, did kill and murder the
inhabitants ? vvhich plague continued a long
vvhile vnknowne, as lying hidden vnder the co-
lour of iustice, and concealed vnder the pre-
tence of the night watch ; But God (vvho som-
times deferreth, to inflict the greater punish-
ment) suffered their monopolie to be discou-
red, vvhereupon seuentene or eighteen of the
vvere executed by sundrie sorts of torments :
for some vvwere torne vvith burning tongues, o-
thers quartered aliue, some headed, some bur-
ned, some hanged, & one of them named *Mi-
chaell the Fat*, vvvas condemned to bee torne in
peesces vvith foure horses . The like death as
Merius Suffetius the duke of the *Albans* suffe-
red at *Rome* by the decree of *Tullus* king of
the *Romans*, for his treason committed in the
battaile

battaile that the said king fought vvith the Fidenates. The like death also suffered Brunchild queene of France, as our Annals doe report: this terrible execution is sildome put in practise, exceptvpon some heinous offendour. These foure horses albeit Michaell vvvas fastened vnto them, and long pulled vp and down, vver notable neuerthelesse to dismember him, so strong, firme, and malsiue vvvas his bodie: vvhereupon the horses seeming too vveake, he vvvas quartered and headed, in the yeare of our Lord 1517. Thus vvvas our Commonwealth purged of this theeuish crue, and the rather by the vigilant, curious, and seruient zeale of the late of good memorie, mounsier Nicholas Bertrand, doctor of the Laws, and aduocat in that parliament, & keeper of the seals of this realm: And this I haue set downe, to the end to continue the memorie thereof, as of a matter vvchich redoundeth greatly to the honour of him and his posteritie. Who so is desirous more at large to see the proceedings against the sayd offenders, let him read the publike Annals of our citie, vvhere hee shall at large finde the whole historie in the discourse of the yeare abovesayd.

This reprobate and euill Societie comprehendeth also three members, directly opposite to

the three members of a good and true societie, described in the last tree sauing one. One member of this bad societie is the same that is combined vpon some apparant good, which notwithstanding is false: such is the societie of ruffians, theeves, pirats, false coiners, and such like, vvho thinke the course of their life to be good; and that it is a profitable matter to rob & steale from others, notwithstanding all thest bee by all lawes both of God and man reprooued. An other member of a vvicked societie is the same that tendeth to a false delectation, as vvell in fornication and adulterie, as in eating drinking and sleeping, vvhich to the lasciuious and epicures seemeth to be good, albeit it contayneth more gaule than honie. The third member of a vvicked societie is this, When the vvicked doe assemble vnder pretence or coloure of some thing that is both honest and good, to the end to make away either one or more honest men out of the commonweale, vnder pretence of some apparent but not existent honestie: such vvvas the societie of the Rabbines, Scribes, and Phariseis at Hierusalem, vvho vnder colour of zeale to the law of Moses, prepared the death of our redeemer Iesus Christ. These iij. kindes of a wicked societie, are the supplanters of Commonweales, vvhich I thought good to set forth

at large, to the end all politike gouernors may beware of them, as also that in this Mirrour nothing should be omitted that might necessarily concerne the good gouernment of a Citie.

Commentaries vpon the Tree last described.




He House, according to our argument, is the societie and communion of life, of the Husband & the Wife, the maister and the seruant, for a dayly commoditie : and this house thus described, is simple, yet absolute & complete, if the Children be therein contained. The parts of the House are the Children, the Seruants, & the Owner. Of these, some are free, as the father, the mother, and the children : others seruants ; and in place vvhether bondage is admitted, bondmen : but in this noble and free kingdome vvhetherin bondage is vnknown, the seruants both male and female are free and not bond, yea albeit they come out of other countries bondmen, vvhich is a course of great antiquitie, and said to bee one of the chiefe points of the Salick Law established by Pharamond. Moreover, the parts of the House are Coniugall or Matrimoniall, Paternall or of the Parent, Seigniorall or Lordly, and Possessoriall.

The Mirrour of Policie.

The Coniugal or Matrimonial containeth the Husband and the Wife: the Paternall or Parent, containeth the Father the Mother & the Children. The Seigniorall or Lordly, the Men-servants, and the Maydservants. The Possessorial or owner, the Moouable, Immoouable, and that mooue of themselues.

Now let vs proceed to the declaration of e-
uery particuler, according to our accustomed
method.

The Husband and the Wife.

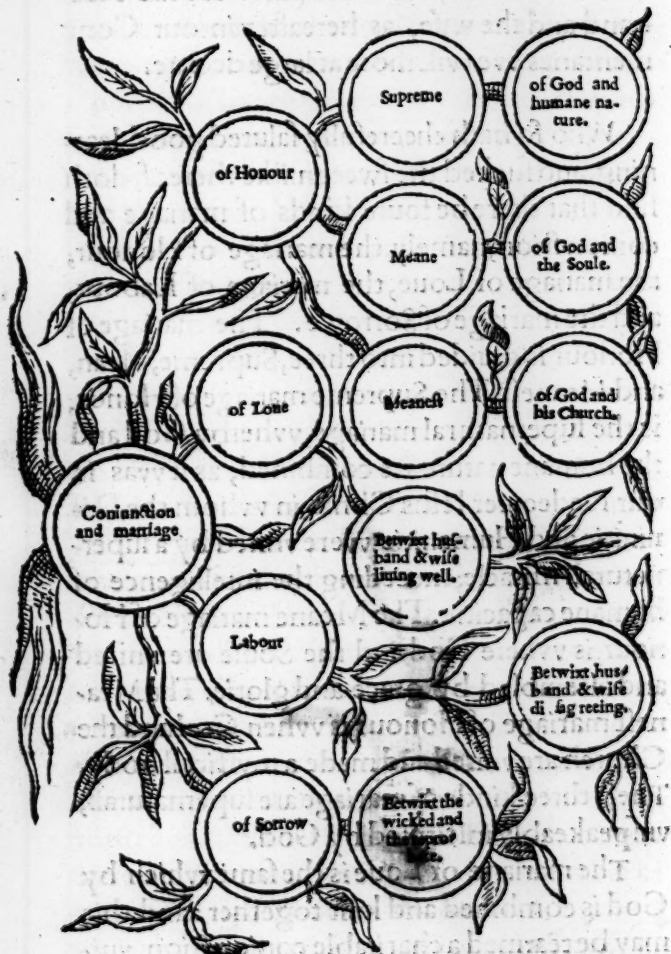
Nall Disciplines, if vve list vwell to
consider it, vve find that vve beginne
vwith the meanest parts thereof. Gra-
mer taketh her beginning from the letters, thā
the which there is nothing more meane or sim-
ple: Logicke hath her originall from the two-
least parts thereof, the Nowne and the Verbe:
Geometrie hath her beginning from a point:
Arithmeticke taketh her originall from the V-
nitie, vvhich the Greeks terme One: Musicke
from the Sound and halfe sound, the least parts
thereof. Why then should not vvee, speaking of
a ciuile Socierie & a Citie, begin vwith the least
parts therof, namely, the parts of a house, wher-
of Cities take their essence? But in the house
and

and first societie, the least parts are the Husband and the wife, as hereafter in our Commentaries vve vwill more at large declare.

Who so hath cheerefully saluted good learning, and sucked the sweet milke thereof, doth find that there be foure kinds of mariage and conionction, namely, the mariage of Honour, the mariage of Loue, the mariage of Labour, and the mariage of Sorrowe. The mariage of Honour is diuided into three, Supreme, Mean, and Meanest. The Supreme mariage of Honor, is the supernaturall mariage, vvhetherby God and the humane nature are combined, as it was in our Redeemer Iesus Christ, in vvhom the Diuinitie and Humanitie were vnited by a supernaturall miracle, exceeding the intelligence of humane capacitie. The Meane mariage of Honour, is vvhether God and the Soule are vnited and assembled by grace and glorie. The Meanest mariage of Honour is vvhether God and the Church are vnited and made a mysticall body. These three kinds of mariage are supernaturall, vnspeakeably instituted by God.

The mariage of Loue is the same vvhich by God is combined and knit together: and this may be tearmed a charitable conionction, vnitie, and societie of the good, vvhich is vvrought
by

The Mirror of Politie.



by grace peace and concord. Of this kind of marriage of Loue, is the marriage of an honest man and of an honest woman, such as is most necessarie for the preservation and propagation of mankind, and consequently of euerie commonwealth. The man and woman thus married are to loue reciprocally, and to make themselves one bodie and one flesh: for albeit there were no law of God or man to induce vs hereunto, euen the brute beasts would teache vs the way, if we could but learne to knowe it. Some beasts there are that by their naturall instinct doe obserue their marriages, that is, their sociall combination. *Solinus* a famous authour, and lately digested into good order by the learned *Camerarius*, in his *Polihystorie* reporteth, that the Storkes doe in Faith obserue the loialtie of marriage, and punish adulterie. *Gervaise* a Historiographer, in his booke of Imperiall vacations, reporteth that it hath ben seene that a storke committed adulterie, and that hir male taking her with the manner, went & made his complaint to a number of his owne kinde, who thereupon coming all together, tare in peeces the storke that had committed the adulterie. Wherein we are to note that the punishment of adulterie hath bene taken from such creatures, and the originall thereof from the

lawes of God. In Deuteronomie & Exodus it doth appeare that by the law of Moses adulterers were stoned, but that rigour doth not our lawes obserue, for vvere it to bee obserued in these daies, vve should not find stones enow to fulfill it. The businesse and duties between man and vvife ought to bee diuided, yea euen after the example of Fouls, amongst vvhome the Female taketh the charge and keepeth the nest, hatcheth the eggs & feedeth the chickens, whilst the male goeth abroad to purchase food. After the example (I say) of Fouls ought the husband and vvife reciprocally to loue and succour ech other; to keepe their vowed faith, and to helpe and relieue each other. the vvife to take the ouersight of the huswiuerie vvithin doores, euen of those things that are most fit and conuenient for her kind, as to spinne, vvorke vvith the needle, vvash, suckle and feed the children, correct and direct the maidseruants, keep account of the linnen and household stufte, haue an eye to the garner, seller, and other household provision, still to keepe her selfe in the state of an honest vvife, sildome out of her husbands dores, not (as the Preacher stearme it) to run on pilgrimage to a Trotters Feast: neither to gad vp and downe to Feasts and banquets: for as a crazed Barke is not safe to traffique the great seas,

seas, but may vuell serue neare the shore or in the hauen, so long as she keepeth neere home: euen so a yong vvoman is in greater danger of her chastity among company at Feasts & banquets, than she should be in hir owne house, as I haue more largely shewed in my Morosophie in these verses, vvhich as fitting this place, and containing much sence in few vvords, I haue here inserted:

*The crased ship to wrecke is thrall,
When without sence we force it flote:
Likewise the wise in Pilgrims stall,
More safe at home, all men will note.*

Of this mariage and combination in Loue, spake the vvise Iew his in Ecclesiastes, saying: Three things are allowed before God & man, Agreement of brethren, Loue among neighbours, and the husband and the vvife that liue at vnitie. And to say the truth, Mariage vvell and duly obserued, euen that mariage vvherein the husband and the vvife doe feare God, and keepe Faith ech to other: vvherein (as as is sayd) the vvife ordereth vvell all that belongeth to her sex, is one of the greatest benefits, yea euen the soueraigne felicitie of this terrestrial vvorld, vvherupon the scripture also sayth, That happy

is that man that hath a good wife: vvhetherin vve are to note, that this vvas not in vaine spoken to Raguell (as appeareth in *Toby*, the leuenth chapter.) This man that feareth God is to thy daughter due.

Another kind of mariage is called the mariage of Labour: and in our daies is this kind of mariage in greater & more vsuall practise than any other, vvherein many (yea almost infinite) doe marrie for Couetousnesse but not for Vertue, neither for chastitie or any good report, either of maid or vvife. *Plautus* the Comical poet saith, That he that list to marrie, should take his vvife by the eares, and not by the fingers: that is, for her good report; not for her golden dowrie, vvhich is counted by the fingers, as I haue sayd in my Theatre. *Licurgus* the great Lawmaker of the Lacedemonians, did in his Lawes establish, that in his Commonwealth neither maidens nor vvomen should haue any dowrie; and this he did to the end that Vertue might be preferred before Riches, and not vvithout great reason; for that Commonwealth vvherein Riches are preferred before Vertue, cannot long continue. Wheteof vve haue a notable example in the *Roman* commonwealth which flourished so long as Vertue was preferred

red before Riches. In these daies (saith *Hugo* of S. Victors) mariages are not made for Continencie, but for Fornication; neither vpon hope of Issue, but in regard of Monie. In this sence are such mariages vworthily tearmed, The mariages of Labour. He that taketh a vvife for vwealth, selleth his Libertie and putteth on intollerable Bondage: as the Satyricall poet seemeth to haue tried, vyhen hee sayd that there is nothing more intollerable then a riche vvife. Where there is inequalitye of vwealth betweene the husband and the vvife (especially vvhen the husband is poore and the vvife rich) the marriage vvill be alwaies full of strife, neither vvill they euer vvell agree, as the sayd Satyricall Poet hath most learnedly declared, saying:

*Of man and wife, the lawfull bed
wherin they ought to rest,*

*Can neuer scape from blame or shame,
when Discord Peaca can wrest.*

Gorgias the soueraigne Orator (of vvhom *Cicero* maketh most honourable mention in sundrie places) heretofore exhorted the Greeks to peake and concord, in a vvonderfull cunning Oration that he made: vpon the deliuey whereof, one *Macantheus* in presence of all the

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Assistants sayd, My lords and maisters, behold here *Gorgias* vvho vvith his eloquent Oration laboureth to exhort vs to concord vvho are an infinit number of people, yet can he not plead so vvell as to persvade peace in his owne house, vvherin there are no more but himselfe, his wife, and his maidservant, who are but three in all, for they are alwaies at strife and continuall debate; and therefore (my lords) I take it to be a great presumption in him to exhort vs to concord, vvhich himselfe cannot procure in his owne priuat Familie. By this historie (gentle Reader) thou art to note that *Gorgias*, vvho by his eloquent speech and discretion, thought himselfe able to appease the sedition of a whole realme, could not neuerthelesse by any meanes keepe his vvife and one onely servant in order. Moreouer *Licurgus* being demaunded, Why in his Lawes he had ordained that in his citie women and maidens should haue no dowrie? To the end (sayd he) that pore maids and vvidows should not be reiected for their pouertie, neyther the rich taken for their vvealth. *Martia*, a noble Roman vvidow, being demaunded vvhy she married not againe, considering shee vvvas both rich, and in the flower of her youth, answered, Because I cannot find any man that loveth my person more then my vvealth; indeed

if I could light vpon him that loued mee more then my goods, I could be cōtent to take him. This discreet answer of this ladie, sheweth that mariages made for couetise, are indeed mariages of Labour. *Marius* a *Romane*, asked *Metellus* (also a noble Roman) wherfore he would not marrie his daughter, considering shee was both beautiful, of a staide countenance, in speech eloquent, of a noble race, rich in dowrie, happy in good report, and adorned with vertue: to whome *Metellus* shaped this answer, I doe not refuse your daughter for any euill that is in her, but for that I had rather be my owne than hers. Nowe will I leaue it for thee to thinke at what marke he leuelled that arrow.

The fourth kind of mariage, is the mariage of Sorrow, which is no other but the combination of the Wicked and Reprobat: this combination, is tearmed of Sorrow, which falleth (as the Prophet saith) in the heads of the wicked and reprobate.

By the premisses haue we now expounded the last tree: proceeding in our commentaries of the parts of the house Matrimoniall, and the title wherein it is written Husband and Wife, and not to frustrate the honor of mariage: in the iust commendation thereof we are to note, that
among

among many things that make marriage so excellent; first we have the antiquitie of the originall thereof, which was euen in the beginning and immediatly after the creation of all other things; withall, the continuance thereof throughout the degrees of all former ages, euen to this present; likewise the common consent and approbation of all Nations, whether Hebrewes, Greeks, Latines, or Barbarians. Is it possible that that which our good and moste mightie God hath instituted, and by his diuine & vnspcakable providence established, should be other but most good, most great, and most excellent? Is it possible that the spring & fountaine of all goodnesse, should yeeld any thing that were not good, yea euen in all supreme degree of goodnes? Is it possible that that which is established by the lawes of GOD and man should be other than iust and worthe obseruation? Scarce had God created the first man, but he deuised to giue him a wif as a louing companion and comfort to his life, and withal performed it: For with God to deuise is to doe, and to do is to deuise. Will and Power are with man far asunder; but with God Will is Power, and Power is Will. God therefore would create woman, yet not of earth, neither of any other strange substance, but euen of the Rib of
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man,

man, that so she might be the neerer vnto him, more agreeable and conioined, as borne and extract out of his own bodie. All other the mysteries of our religion (albeit they be all diuine and holy) were ordained for the preservation and amendment of man, after hee had already sinned; but this mysterie did God find out for the production of mankind, and the lawfull propagation of nature, and that in the time of innocencie. For before that man had sinned, this mysterie was ordained to giue vs birth; but the rest after the Fall, to raise vs againe; now so much as our birth is greater then our rising againe, and the office than the remedie, euen so much is this mysterie greater and of more excellence then all the rest. Againe, the other mysteries were not receiued of all men, but this mysterie of marriage hath bene receaued of all nations with a like consent, albeit diuerslie in ceremonies. Besides, mortall men considering the holinesse & necessitie of this mysterie, haue studied to beautifie and enrich it with all sorts of myrth and delights, as songs, daunces, Musicke in sundrie sorts, assembly of kindred, meeting of Friends, banquets, feasts, iewels, rings, rich garments, gorgeous attire, masques, tragedies, commedies, which we commonly terme Plaies, and such like pastimes betokening ioy

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and soueraigne delectation. Neither is there any nation vnder the cope of heauen, howsoever barbarous or deuoid of ciuilitie, but at mariages and nuptiall feasts vwill reioice and bee merrie. Let vs read or call to mind the nuptiall songes both of the ancient and newe Poets, Greeks and Latines, and vve shall discerne the great cunning that they vsed in the beautifieng and enriching of their mariages, and yeelding the feasts pleasaunt. With vwhat eloquence hath *Catullus* vvritten the nuptiall song of Mallius and his vvife Iulia ? With vwhat a grace hath *Claudian* composed the nuptiall songes of the Emperour Honorius and the princeesse Marie his vvife ? of the prince Palladius and Seraine his vvife ? With vwhat grauitie and heroicall magnificence did *Papinius* vvrite the Nuptiall song of the poet Stella and Violentia ? But aboue all the nuptiall songes of the Latines in the opinion of the learned, that vvvas most highlye esteemed vvwhich *Galien* the Romane emperor composed at the mariage of a young prince, his kinsman, as vvell for the inuention as disposition thereof, vvwhich is so much the more to be admired as it containes but 3 Exameter verses, vvwhich also deseruing to be imparted to the vvfer sort, as also for that it is rare, and besides will be soone read ouer, I haue hereinto inserted it :

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*ye thoughte goe y^e together faste, your marriage shoulde imparting
betwixt your selves, Let not y^e doves speake of your loving chace*
Ite simul(iuvenes) pariter sudate medullis

Omnibus inter vos, non murmura vestra colūba

Brachia non hadera, non vincant oscula concha.

*Let not y^e clasping your past, your fondled arms, y^e embracing
your left your right, your soft clasp, then shall y^e on workes
growe*

Not long before our time the learned Philip
Beroaldus at the mariage of the lord Bentiuole
of Bologne the fat, composed a nuptiall song
most eloquent.

Againe, let vs consider of the name of this
mysterie, vvhich is called Matrimonie, and vvee
shall find it to be a name of great honor, pietie,
and reuerence; the rather if vvee marke vvhath
names are attributed to the vnlawfull worke of
the flesh, which are in sound most harsh & dis-
honest, as rape, incest, adulterie, fornication, &
such like. What name of greater honour could
be attributed to a new married wife, than to en-
title her, The mother of a Familie. Are there a-
ny names of more reuerence among men, than
the names of Father and Mother? of Mother, I
say, conioined to her husband by lawfull con-
sent, wherby he is Father? In the Lords praier
vve cal God our Father, because we cannot giue
him any name of greater excellencie, either of
greater reuerence among mankind. She that is
a mother vvhithout the lawful ceremonie of ma-
riage, is vnworthy so honorable a title, only she

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is truly to be honoured wvith that name, vvhich can aduouch a true father in mariage. The lawyer sayth that he is to be reputed the true same, vvhich is so declared by Matrimonie or lawfull mariage. Shee is the true mother that conceaueth her children vvithout blemish, vvithout offence to God, vvithout obloquie or reproch to parents or kinred, and finally vvithout doing iniurie to any. This Mysterie hath obtained the title of Matrimonie, to the end that children may vvithout doubting call her mother vvhich hath conceaued them, and him that hath ingendered them (in all reuerence) Father, and so acknowledge as vvell the one as the other vvithout reproch of sinne. But how many examples may vvee produce in this discourse, to prooue that among all nations all carnall copulation of man and vvoman, if not comprehended vvithin the lawfull bounds of Matrimonie, hath bene reprobued? Albeit the ancient Arabians and Troglodites; yea and the first inhabitants of great Britaine, now called England, had their vvomen common, separated only by Famelies, yet did they most severely punish as vvell men as vvomen, that companied vvith any out of their Famelies. The ancient Indians, not content vvith one wvife, tooke many, some dedicated to their pleasures, others to generation and propagation

pagation of their line : and there the husbands did vse to giue monie to the vviues parents, not to take any : vvhich the Cantabers (a people of Spaine) did also in old time . The Germanes, vvhome vvee commonly call Almaines , vvere vvoont to appoint to their vviues a dowry, not to receiue any from them or their parents. And as concerning the punishment of adultery, they vsed therein as great seueritie as the former, for the punishment vvas death . The Ægyptians (vvhoe boast themselues to be the first men in the vworld, as the Geographers doe reporte) gaue vnto the men that committed adultery so many stripes, that they might shew a thousand vvounds vpon the bodie ; and for the vvomen, they cut off their noses : the reason, The nose is the member vvhich doth most beautifie or deforme the face, and the beautie of a vvomans face is the cause to commit adulterie: and therefore cutting off the harlots nose, they tooke from her the beautie vvhich vvas the cause of the offence, and so shee vvvent vvith a deformed face in vvittnesse of her trespas committed. We find in some ancient authors, that in the East there is a certaine nation vvhere all are married but their king, vvho by their law is forbidden to marrie: but vvith this priuiledge, that he may chuse any of his subiects vviues vvhom hee list,

to vse at his pleasure, and then send her home againe to her husband : and shee vyhome the king doth most send for, is accounted the most honourable and glorious : otherwise amongst theselues they keepe their mariage inuiolably. Among the Taxilles, a nation of Asia, whē they had any poore maidens to marrie, certain censors to that purpose deputed, vvith Trumpets, drums, and greate pompe of musicall instruments, brought them to the common market, and there stripped them, and such of the assistance as best liked them tooke them to their vvives, and so kept them inuiolably and vvithout adulterie. The Affricans had certaine Magistrats called Triumviri and prouosts of Mariages, men of approoued grauitie, vvho had in charge to bring the maidens that vvere marriageable into the market, & by a crier to make proclamation to see who would haue thē, and such as had once accepted of thē, durst not for their liues leaue them. The Babilonians sent their daughters to the Innes, where it vvvas lawfull for the guests, for a certaine summe of monie, to lie vvith thē a certain number of nights, and vvith the monie so gotten, did afterwards marrie them. I haue heard (but can hardly beleue it) that euen in these daies in some partes of Scotland they do vse this custome. *S. Hieron*

(a doctor of irreproachable authoritie) reporteth that in his time he saw Scots eat mā's flesh. This barbarous and dishonest custome of deliuering their daughters to bee deflowred, did the Ciprians also obserue.

In Sicill, the Heraclians vsed vpon the marriage daye to bring their Daughters vnto the Sea shore, and there habandon thē to the lust of all commers, and the money vvhich came thereof, vvvas giuen vnto their husbands: wherein shee that had bene most abused vvvas best esteemed: and this abuse did they tearme, Venus sacrifice: yet after that, spent the rest of their daies in chastitie and shamefastnesse with their husbands. Thus vvvere the sayd mariages more honestly continued than begun.

Who so list to inlarge this discourse, might vvrite a great and large volume, but the premisses maye suffice the Reader for the vnderstanding of the diuers conditions of sundrye nations, vvho themselues (each in his kinde) very wise, albeit herein they vvvere but starke fooles.

Many other Nations I omit, as the Persians, vvhere the Father many times married the daughter, the sister the brother, and the sonne the mother: as did also heretofore the Egyptians and Grecians.

But

But in pompe, ceremonies, and decencie of marriage, the ancient Italians surpassed all other nations, and therefore I doe not thinke it amisse somewhat to discourse vpon their ancient obseruations, thereby in fewe vvords to smoothe the vvay to the plainer vnderstanding of that vvhich many Philosophers haue diffusedly entreated of in sundry places. First vve are to consider that they inuolably obserued this custome, neuer to marry their vvidows or daughters by constraint, vvherein they agree with our religion, vvhich in marriage vrgeth the consent of the parties. When the appointed day of marriage vvvas come, the bride vvvas richly apparailed, her haire scattered ouer her shoulders, her head enuironed vvith a garlād of diuers flowers differing both in smell and colour, and carried in her hand a branch of Veruine (an hearbe in olde time dedicated to the goddesse Lucina) this hearbe Veruin they did hold in so great reuerence, that they named it, The holy hearbe; as thinking that in all their sacrifices and ceremonies it brought good lucke and prosperity, and it vvvas vvuallye gathered in some sacred place. The Ancients did adorne the alters of their gods with fundrie trees and plants: to Iupiter they dedicated a kind of Oke called Esculus, to Apollo the Laurell, to Minerua the Oliue

Oliue tree, to Venus the Mirtle, to Hercules the Poplar, to Bacchus the Yuie, to Pan the Pine tree, and the Ciprus to Dis, the god of hell: all which I haue here set downe by the vway, to the end it may serue to the vnderstanding of many poetickall fixions. Before the bride marched her mother, carying in a cofer the ouches, iewels, rings, looking glasses, combes, yuorie pins, seruing to frizle haire, needles, pins, girdles, garters, and all other vvomanish ornaments, which in Latine the lawyers doe terme *Mundus muliebris*: called indeed *mundus*, in regard of the cleannesse and puritie that ought to adorne euery honest vvoman, which also, next to her chastitie, is the thing that bringeth her into most estimation: as contrariwise slutterie and filthinesse breeds her most hatred. For Virgins of honourable houses, they provided a chariot drawne yvith vvwhite horses, tearmed Iupiters horses: vvwhich vvwhitenes of the horses betokened as vvell the cleannesse of the bodie as the innocencie of the mind, vvwhich should adorne euery new married vvife, vvwho ought to be free from euery blemish and spot of reproch. Thus vvvas the bride brought from her fathers to hir husbands house: vvwherein vve are also to note, that shee vvvas alwaies led through the chiefest streets of the citie, not through any by-lanes,

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thereby to shew that a wyoman must alwaies goe the plaine and broad way, but neuer seeke corners or places, vwhere she may incurre the cōiecture of sinister suspition. Neither did they vse in all these ceremonies, any action vvhich did not demonstrat some token of the chastitie and honestie that ought to be in euery woman; vvhich al is to be taken mystically. Moreouer entring into her husbands house, the bride vvas to couer her head and face vvith a vaile, therein to declare, that losing her freedome, she entered into the subiection of her Husband. This speech maketh mee to remember that I haue read in Genesis that vvhen Isaac vvent to meet his spouse Rebecca, who vvas comming towards him, she asked of hir guide vvhat hee vvas that came against her : vvho told her that it vvas Isaac her future lord & husband: vvher-vpon shee couered her vvith her cloke, vvhich vvas not done vvithout some secret mysterie. Sildome should you haue seene married vvires shew their haire, or vvalke abroad bareheade, neither is it seemely : besides that, the Apostle exhorteth euerie married vvife to couer hir hair in signe of subiection. Moreouer, the bride carried or caused to be carried vvith her, a pannier or basket full of meale, bread, flesh, cheese, and other victuals : thereby to declare, that euerie

mother

mother of a familie, or good housewife, should carefully attend to the prouision of the house, and not to carrie vntill the sellar be emptye or the sellar drie: for, according to the prouerbe, It is too late to seeke yvealth at the bottome of the sacke, or vwhen the hog shead is emptie: but prouision must be looked for before al be spēt. Again, when she came to the entrie of hir husbands house, before she came ouer the ground-sell, her husband vvith both his hands toke her vnder the armes and hoisted her so high, that she should hit the vpper peast of the dore with her head, and so tooke her ouer that her feete might not touch the groundsell: vvich ceremonie vvas thought to bee deuised to put the bride in mind by the grieve of the blow of her head, that if so be that she desired a good name and to bee accounted an honest vvoman, she shoulde not gad often out of her Husbands house.

The vpper post, and the side postes of the doore, vvere decked vvith garlands of sundrie flowers, in vvittnesse of new ioies, and sign that the Bride depended principallie vppon the honour of her husbands house. The daughters of Noblemen vvere apparailed in fine purple, or some other costly and rich stuffe, so made that they should not shew their breasts,

or other inward part, for all was covered and
suitable to their virginitie : Their looks were
shamefast, concurring with the modestie of
their apparell. Their gesture and pace with o-
ther their countenances, such as shewed their
bringing vp to haue bene among honourable
personages, and in all chasterie. At their necks
they wore a iewell hanging in a ribband, to sig-
nifie that they were tied and bound to the sub-
jection of their husbands. The bride was com-
monly accompanied with three noble chil-
dren, of the which one carried a burning torch,
which is the Embleme or badge of virginitie :
For the vestall virgins only had the keeping of
the sacred fire dedicated to Vesta the goddesse
of virginitie . These virgins were consecrated
to goddesse Vesta, as the nuns in the Romish
church are to S. Cleer, S. Monick, and such like.
The other two boies came to take the bride
out of her mothers hands to deliuer her to her
husband, which they performed rashlye with
tumult, and as it were by violence . This cere-
monie was vsed to put the in mind of the rape
of the Sabine virgines and wiues, vvhome Ro-
mulus and his vassals had rauished: as you may
read in Liuius, Plutarch, and other Historio-
graphers. This rauishment of Virgins & wiues
was prosperous to the Romans, for by their
fruit-

fruitfulnesse their commonweale vvas augmented and their citie peopled. Their heads & faces vvere couered, to shew also that a chaste woman should not cast her eye (either amorously or lasciuiously) vpon any man but her husband. To their brides they also deliuered an yron ring, all round vvithout any stone, to put them in remembrance that the Romane Commonwealth vvas growne vp as vvell by the fruitfulnesse of their vvives, as by the yron in their armour and harnessse: the roundnesse of the ring shewed, that euerie honest vvoman should goe roundly about her businesse vvithout counterfeiting or dissimulation; besides, that in a round thing ye cannot so easily hide that thing vvwhich might be hidden in a square or cornerd thing, vvhereto the Prouerbe agreeth, that Truth seeketh no corners. The Acarnaniens, a people inhabiting beyond mount Taurus, vvoulde not suffer any to marrie, before he had presented his king vvith an enemies head: thereby giuing to vnderstand that no man vvas to be admitted to marrie before his age strength and heart serued him to defend his familie and commonwealth, and to assault his enemy. We are also to note, that in the celebration of the sayde Mariages, there might not come any vvindow, how neere focuer of kin; as presuming her presence to be

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a sorrowfull and sinister prognostication of death, either to the bride or bridegroom. At euery mariage feast they killed a Sow, as a presage of fruitfulness to the newe Bride: for as the mulets the embleme and presage of barrenness, so is the Sow of fertilitie and pluralitie of children, as indeed the sow is a beast very profitable for household. Plinie in the eight booke of his naturall historie, speaking of the fruitfulness of the Sow, sayth that sometimes at one litter she bringeth forth twentie pigs, albeit she cannot bring vp so many. Vpon the Feast day also they cast before the doore and about the house great store of nuts, in presage of the children to come, whome they hoped to bee begotten in the mariage. Among the Ancients nuts were the Embleme of Infancie, because children doe greatly delight in them, either for eating, or play. Of these nuts doth Virgil make expresse mention in his mariage of Mopsus & Nisa. Others doe attribute to these nuts a more morrall signification, saieng that after a man or vvoman are entered into mariage, he is to consider that he is past a child vwhen hee is able to be a father, and that therefore hee must forget all childishnesse, as his play at nuts & such like, and so shew himselfe to be a man. The Apostle sayth, When I was a child I spake and did as a child,

child, but after I came to mans estate, I left off all childishnesse and deeds of infancie. Againe, the bride brought to her husband, or as some say, the husband brought to the wfe fire in one hand and water in the other. Concerning the mystical sence of this ceremony, some haue coniectured that as the communicatiō of mans life consisteth principally in the vse of these two elements, fire & water, so can there be no more familiar or vnited communication than of the husband and the wfe; and because fire & water are the embleme of communiō or communication, in old time banished persons were forbidden fire and water, by the forbidding whereof, they meant to prohibit them from all communion or familiaritie. Others by this embleme of fire & water, haue meant that as they are diametrally contraries, both in the first and second qualities, for that the fire is hote & drie and the water cold and moist, so is man naturally hote and drie, and woman cold & moist. Considering therefore the heat and drought of man, and the cold & moisture of woman, when these two contraries are cōioined, they redound into a harmonie & temperature of loue. Some expound this embleme, That by the cōtrariety of fire and water, we may vnderstand the dissension, muttering & debate that oft times doe

fall

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fall out between married folkes, and that in marriage there is no smile without teares, neither rest without labour, and to say the truth, as in marriage there is honie, so is there also gall: yet is it not so in marriage only, but also in all vocations in this terrelltriall and sensible vworldly Theatre, vwhere vvee cannot tast of honie without gaule, neither of sugar without aloes: And this doth *Homer* giue vs to vnderstande by the two vessels that he faineth to stand at the entry vnto *Olimpus*, one full of honie the other of gaule, vwhereof, being mixed together, *Iupiter* vvatereth all mankind, as I haue already declared in my Theatre: which also the great Philosopher *Cebes* verie vvell expresseth in his table of the Miserie of mans life. Now because the place here fitteth, I haue here inserted the verses, out of Latine:

Why doth this faire and louing wife,

unto her spouse and Mate,

This fire bring and water both,

which alwaies are at bate?

To shew that in the Wedlocke band

betweene the man and wife,

Each smile hath tears, each pleasure grieve,

such contraries are rise.

But

But it is no maruaile that there should sometimes fall dissention betweene the husband & the wif, who are two seuerall bodies, sith in one selfe body the parts are many times at debate. In one selfe wombe of Rebecca the two brethren and twins, Iacob & Esau, stroue who should come first foorth. Rome coulde not brooke the two brethren twinnes, striuing for the monarchie thereof. The Athenians for the preuenting of such dissensions as might fall out betweene the husband and the wif; also for the appeasing of such as were happened, vsed great prouidence: for in their cōmonweale they establisht certaine Magistrats, vvhome they named, Reconcilers of the married, whose office it was to enquire throughout the Citie, Whether the husband & wiues liued in good accord and amity, and vvhē they heard of any contention betweene them, they were to take notice of the right and wrong, and finally to reconcile and reduce them to accord: vvherto if they would not voluntarily condescend, they were to force them either by fine, satisfaction, imprisonment, or otherwise according to the exigence of the obstinacie. The Romanes had not in like case any set officers as the Athenians had: but if any discention happened between the husband and the wif, the parents of both

parties met in a temple consecrated to the goddess *Viriplaca*, & there take notice of the right or vvrong, and so finally reconciled them. In the Spartane Commonweale they had certain set Officers named Harmosyns, who had in charge to punish the insolencie of vvomen, & to suppress their arrogance and pride. But the Romanes could neuer boast of such an inuention: For Plato long before had established it, as appeareth in the eleuenth dialogue of his laws. Before I end this present discourse, it will not be amisse to make mention of this old question, so often argued among the Philosophers, both Greekes and Latines, and as yet left vnresolved and determined: The question is this, Whether it bemeet a wise mā should mary. *Theophrastus* (*Aristotles* daughters son) a great Philosopher, did long since profoundly argue this question in his booke of Mariage, vvherof by the iniquitie of time vvee are deprived. Some held opinion, that to marrie was commendable; others to the contrarie. *Thales* the Milesian, one of the seuen Sages of Greece by antiquitie of speech, went about to proue, that it vvvas not expedient for a vvise man to mary: for in his youth, being asked why he married not, he answered, Because it was too soone, and that it was not yet time: long after being growne old,

and

and asked the same question, he answered, that it was too late, and that the time was past. Thus did hee in these vvords couertly giue to vnderstand, that it vvas not meet for a vvise man to marrie. For albeit the name of a Husband bee both sweet and honourable, yet (vvho so list to consider, and in *Critolaus* ballance to peise it) it is a full great and intollerable burthen: neither vv ere the marriage roses free from thornes, neither so sweete a raine exempt from some stormes of haile. Who (say they) is able vvith patience to beare the charges of marriage, the arrogance and insolencie of vvomen, the yoke of a sexe so vnperfect? Who can satisfie as vvell their carnall lusts, as their insatiable pompe? Is it not an old Prouerbe, That Women and Shippes are neuer so perfect, but still there is somewhat to bee amended. Take a poore vvife, and she shall be despised, and thou the lesse set by. Take a rich one vvith a great dowrie, so of a maister thou shalt be made a varlet: but vvhat varlet? euen a more base one then a skullion in a Kitchen. Of a free man thou shalt bee made a slaue, and vveening to match vvith an equall companion, thou shalt marrie an intollerable Mistresse; I wot not whether I may not say a deuill. Take a faire wife, thou art in danger to make

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thy round head beare hornes, vvhich is a terrible Metamorphosis, if it vvwere visible and apparent. A castle (notwithstanding vvhat vvatch soeuer) is hardly kept vvhen many do assaile it ; and his vvictory is desperat, vvho being alone is forced to fight vvith many. What els shall vvee say ? Riches make a vvoman proud , Beautie breedeth suspition, Euil fauourednesse maketh her odious. Is there (sayth *Plutarch*) any thing more light than the tongue of a shameles vvoman , more sharpe than her outrages , more rash then her presumption, more horrible then her malice, or more dangerous then her wrath? I will not speake of vvomans teares that are alwaies in vse. Many times when the vvife vveepeth, the husband taketh her to poure forth the teares of sorrow, when she sheddeth the teares of treason. Womens teares are like the teares of the Crocodile, who neuer vveepeth but in treason. Women alway haue, and daily doe poure forth such fained teares, that vvhen they vveepe indeed for sorrow, vve doubt dissimulation & treason. Againe, such as speake euill of women, doe enrich their vvords vvith hystories and examples, alleadging the harmes and inconueniences that they haue vvrought, as the destruction of Troy, *Hesiodes Pandora* : the pittifull death of *Hercules* by *Deianira* , *Sampson* be-
traied

traied by *Dalida*, *Salomon* peruerted and made a beast by his Concubines, *Achab* destroyed through *Iefabel*, *Marc Anthony* killing himselfe for the loue of *Cleopatra*. And (vvhich in regard both of time, and the scandale thereof ensuing, vve should haue said first) our great father *Adam* deceiued by *Eue*, through vvhole transgression sinne (as the Apostle saith) came into the vvorld, and through sinne death. They doe also alledge the contemners of mariage: the saying of *Jpponates*, vvho vvvas of opinion, that the married man hath but two good daies; one his mariage day, the other the day that his wife dieth: meaning that the mariage day must be good, because then they vsually make great cheare, and the bride is new and fresh, and all new things doe like vs, and of all pleasures, the beginning is most delectable: The day that the vvife dieth, he tearmeth good, because the poyson dieth vvith the beast, and the husband suruiuing, by his vvives death commeth out of bondage, and returneth into his first franchise and libertie, vvhich surpasseth all gold, euen the gold of Arabia, in richnesse. *Alexandreides* also said, that the mariage day vvvas the beginning and entrie into many calamities. They also alledge the saying of *Philemon*, vvho thought the vvife to be to her husband, a necessarie euil,

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and immortall. *Menander* said, that the poore man that married, incurred a threefold mischeefe: First, albeit hee had no children, yet must hee feed at the least two persons; and having children, more: next, that hee tooke that in charge that hee could not safely keepe: lastly, that he endangered himselfe to be the father of vicked children, vvhich many times are the subuersion and dishonour of their fathers house, and a reproch to the whole kinred. Likewise doe they alleadge the saying of *Diphilus*, That it is a hard matter throughout the world, to find one good vvhife, vvherto also agreeth the old Prouerbe, that saith, A good vvhife, a good Moile, and a good Goat, are three bad beasts. To enrich their Argument, they also bring in *Charemon*, saying, That it vvas a greater blessing to the Husband to see his wife laid in her graue than in her bed. A Greeke Philosopher being asked what vvas the greatest good hap that euer befell him, answered, That he had neither vvhife nor children. They proceed yet farther, and bring in the History of a noble Romane, vvhich being very sad and heauie the next day after his marriage, and had the night before lien vvvith his vvhife, vvas by some of his friends and familiars asked vvhich cause hee had to bee so sad, sith his vvhife vvas
both

both faire, rich, and verie vwell borne: hee stretching forth his legge, and shewing his foot said, Behold you see my shooe is new, faire, and vwell made, yet you knowe not in vwhat part of my foot it wringeth mee. *Socrates* said, That men were to bee corrected by the Lawes of the Citte that they inhabited, and wiues by the Lawes of the men vvhome they married. They farther alleage *Hesiod*, who saith, That he which trusteth to a vvoman, is as safe as he that hangeth vpon the leaues of a tree, especially in the end of Autumne whē the leaues begin to fall. *Homer* (say they) reporteth that *Vlisses*, albeit *Penelope* vvvas both faithfull and chaste, would neuer trust her vtill the verie extremitie. And as for *Pandora*, whom vvce haue before mentioned, they say, that albeit of *Mercurie* she had learned eloquence, of *Pallace* to spinne, sow, and worke with the needle, and hath had her apparrell from *Venus*, yet did she bring the whole world into confusion: Then what will that woman do, that hath had none of these benefites from the gods, as *Pandora* had? All these goodly allegations, vvhereof the most part are but friuolous, doe these that speake euill of vvomen, produce. But as concerning men, if some haue by them been deceaued, the fault is to bee imputed rather

to themselves then to them, who according to the perfection of their kind, ought to haue ben vviser then vvomen, vvho Nature hath brought forth more changeable in vvill, and more fraile in counsel: albeit *Plato* hath not quite excluded them from the gouernement of a Common-vveale, in case any may be found capable of such a charge, for their naturall imperfection ought not to be objected against them as a reproch, but be imputed rather to nature then to them, and so such as taxe them therevvith, doe proue themselves deuoid of reason, far from all good capacity, and vtterly vnnvorthie that vvomen should haue conceaued them, brought them into the vvorld, suckled or brought them vp. I presume, Reader, that thou hast heard the tale of the Nunne, vvho finding in her booke at the bottome of the leafe these vvords, *Bonum est omnia scire*, determined and meant to trie vvhat the carnall copulation of man and woman might be, but turning ouer the leafe, she saw in the beginning thereof, vvhere it vvas vvritten, *Sed non uti*, vvhereupon to her greefe, she altered her purpose, and her ioy lasted but a vvhile. Euen so in this discourse, such as speake hardly of mariage and vvives, might by reading this vvwhich I haue set downe in regard of their opinions, thinke their cause good, but it vvill
fall

fall out with them, as with the Nunne : They shall haue small ioy, if they doe but turne ouer the leafe, that is, if they read that which followeth, vvhich doth vvholly conclude and persist in the contrary of the premisses.

First of the originall and antiquity of marriage, of the place where it vvas instituted, and of the Authour, vvhich vvas our good and mighty God, I will not at this present make anie farther mention, but be content with so much as is already set downe. But for the rest, Plato the heauenly Philosopher said, that if with our bodily eies vve could behold the beautie that is contained in Honesty, we should fall greatly in loue vvvith her, yea euen so far, that we should not bee able to satisfie our eies vvvith the view thereof: but she cannot be scene but vvvith the eies of the spirit. But if vve list vvvith the eies of our spirit to view the beautie of Honestie, vve cannot any where more curiously seek, or more easily find her then in marriage: Can there be any thing more honest then the married life, in case it be on all parts accomplished : Was there euer any calling more beautified then the same vvhich our Sauior vouchsafed to beautifie with his presence, the nuptiall feast vvhich hee did illustrat vvvith his miracle, euen the first that euer hee vvrought in his humanity? Can any
Y thing

thing be more holy then that vvhich the holy of holies, the Father and Creator of all things, hath established, honoured, and in his presence consecrated? Can there be anie greater equity thē to leaue to our successors that which vve hold from our predeceffors? By coniugall copulation vvee are in the world, and by the same are vve to leaue others for to continue the propagation vvhich our ancestors haue continued vnto vs. If they haue not omitted the continuation of it vnto vs, neither must vvee omit to continue it to our successours. Can there be any greater folly, then to seeke to shunne that thing as prophane, vvhich God hath accounted holy? For euill, vvhich hee hath reputed good? For delectable, vvhich hee hath deemed sacred? Can there be any greater inhumanity, then to reprove the spring of humanity? Is there any greater ingratitude then to denie to our aftercommers that which vve haue receiued from our forerunners? If vve demand vvhovvas the first Authour to establish Marriage, it vvas neither *Abraham, Isaac, Moyfes, Licurgus, Solon, Plato*, neither *Aristotle*, but it vvas euen God himselfe, vvhodid institute, honour, commend, yea, vvhich is more, vvhodid consecrate mariage. Immediately after God had created man of the slime of the earth, he knew that his

life should be both miserable, tedious, and displeasing, vnlesse hee also gaue him a vvife to keep him faithfull companie, vvhom, as is afore-said, he made not of the like slime, but of mans bone, to shew that nothing should cleaue so sure, or be so conioined or conglutinated vnto him, as his vvife. Moreouer, after the flood, for the restrauration of mankind, God said not, lue in continencie, but lue, multiply, and replenish the earth. If any man alleadge, that this commandement vvvas giuen in regard of the necessitie of the time, as also, the libertie of *Moses* law; did not Iesus Christ vvith his owne mouth say, Man shall leaue his father & mother, and cleaue to his vvife? Can any thing be more holy then the dutie that we owe to our parents that haue begotten vs? yet is the fidelity in marriage preferred before all dutie to father or mother, but by vvhat Author? Euen by God himselfe. At vvhat time? Not in the time of Iudaisme, but in time of Christianisme. The father is left, the mother is left, the vvife is kept: For how long? Not for anie time limitted, but euen vvhile life dooth last. That vvwhich God hath begun, death only dooth end, that vvwhich God hath cōioined only death seperats, that vvwhich God hath assured, man cannot dissolue, that vvwhich god hath establisht, none can abolish. O

what a dignity! what a preheminance! what a prerogative hath marriage? If anie cauelling Sophister list to say, If Mariage be so vvorthie and so honourable, vvhy did Iesus Christ forbear it? Why vvould not he marrie? The answer is readie: How manie perfections vv ere there in Iesus Christ, vv hich vve may better admire, then imitate? He was borne without a father, and vv ithout anie anguish to his mother came forth of that close monument. All that vv as in him surpassing nature, vve may admire, but by reason of our humane frailtie, wee cannot imitate. He vv as both God and Man: to humanitie mariage is conuenient, but to Deitie it is repugnant. He vouchsafed to be borne of a Virgine, yet married: it vv as conuenient for God to be borne of a Virgine, and of a married Virgine, to teach vs that mariage is honorable, & this hath the Apostle expressed in his Epistle to the Hobrewes. Moreover, the fruitfulnessse of vvomen abounding in children, is the gift of God: for among his blessings bestowed vpon his people, this vv as one, To haue a fruitful vvife, and by her to see his table, and the corners of his house beset vv ith children, as the King and Prophet in his harmonie doth sing. In Deuteronomie we may read, that among all the blessings that God bestowed vpon the children

children of Israell, this vvas not the least, that among them there should not be a barren man nor vvoman. Had not barrenesse ben reprooued, the barren married, had not by *Moyse* law ben put from the Aultar, neither their offrings refused: as among others, vve may read of *Joa- chim*, the Father of the Virgin *Marie*. But vvhy vvere they put backe? Because they left not a suruiuer of their race, & vvere therefore reputed as vnprofitable, bringing no increase to their Commonweale. *Rachel* and *Leab*, vvhen they could not conceiue, supposed that God had dispised them. With vvhat a feruent desire did *Rachel* entreat her sister *Leab* to giue her of the *Mandragoras* that her sonne *Ruben* had brought from the fields, as vveening by them to recover the fruit of conception? Albeit Saint *Augu- stine* testifieth, that he neuer read in any Author that had vvritten of the nature and force of plants, that *Mandragoras* had the vertue to make the barren fruitfull, yet dooth the cold- nesse thereof reduce into temper the excessiue heat of the matrice, vvhich breedeth barren- nesse, by burning the mans seed therein. Again, the Lawes of the Iewes had marriage in such reuerence, that the nevv married man vvas exempt and free from the vvarrs for the first year of his marriage, that so he might haue one vvhole

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yeare to sport him, and to tend to generation, and without interruption to be merrie vvith his vvife. But good God, vvho can defend a Commonvveale vvithout Armes? If mankind faileth, vvho shall beare armes? If that vvhich by death doth of necessitie grow to an end, vvhere not by generation supplied, how could mankind continue? The Lawes of the Romanes (vvho to all Nations vvere a patterne of vertue) did rigorously punish such as vvould not marrie, forbidding them all publicke Offices, and disgrading them from all such as they had alreadie obtained. Besides, the rather to inuite them to marriage, and consequently to generation, they gaue priuiledges to such as had manie children, and he that had most children, had the greatest aduantage, and was soonest preferred to publicke office and honor. The rigor of the said laws that thus punished such as liued in continency, vvere in fauor of the Christian law, moderated by *Constantine* the Romane Emperour. Long before the said *Constantine*, *Augustus Caesar* being Censor at Rome, did by his authoritie cause an inquisition to be takē against a Romane knight, vvho (contrary to the law) vvould not mary, & should haue ben punished, had he not proued himselfe father of three children. *Vlpian* the Lawgiuer saith, That this was the cause

cause that womens dowries had such priuileges, neither was there any other reason for it, but on-ly the benefit that all Cōmonweales do reap of mariage: He that had three children, should ne-uer be forced to any legation, or publicke em-bassage: He that had fīue, was free frō all perso-nall charge, as an auncient tutor: Hee that had thirteene, was free from all charge. Not without cause thē haue all Lawgiuers, Monarks, & Prin-ces, so highly fauored married men, & specially such as haue replenished their cities with many childrē. But to what purpose do we stand vpon the examples of former ages, sith we haue both new & fresh in memory. *Raphael Volaterran* in his Phitologie reporteth, that at Florence, euen at this day he that is father of twelue children, male or female, presently vpō the birth of the twelfth, is free and exempt from all taxe, impost, lone, or subsidy. If there be no greater good, neither any felicity more to be desired thē immortality, the same doth the propagation of our family, by continuation of kind (which nature denieth vs in single life) bring vnto vs, and thereby we are made immortal: wherefore we may hereof fully conclude, that to man or womā there can befall no greater felicity in this world, then to leaue issue, whereby to testifie to the posterity, that they haue beene in the vworld, vwhere they haue left the badge of their being.

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The Emperour *Adrian* (of all the Roman Emperors the most learned, especially in the Mathematickes and Greeke tongue) vpon the confiscation of anie mans goods that vvas attaint and conuict of anie capitall crime, hearing that any such had childrē, vwould restore the goods of the condemned fathers to their children; as knowing (being both learned and vwise) that the Romane Empire vvas better guarded and defended by the propagation of children, then by heaping vp richesse in his coffers. *Licurgus* in his Lawes did ordaine, that euery Cittizen that preferred Continencie before the estate of Mariage, should be debarred from all publicke plaies, vvhich in those daies was a mighty reproch: and in Winter, vvhē the cold vvas sharpest, that they should be stripped, and forced to goe round about the market and common place starke naked. So holy and honourable did the Grecians account the bond of Mariage that in reuenge of the rauishment of *Helen*, and the Adulterie committed by *Paris Alexander*, they vvarred tenne yeares against the Troians, and finally destroyed them. The Romanes by the law *Iulia* (so named of the Authour thereof) established death to marriage breakers. The Iewes, as is aforesaid, stoned them: yet theewes in returning foure times the value of the stolen

ftollen goods, did escape, but adulterers might not escape vvith life. The feuerity of the Ro- mane lawes tollerated the murder of him that vvas taken in adultery : but him that made assault vpon man, might no man kill vvithout a certaine moderation thereby implying that the husband vvas more vvronged in the abuse of his vvife, then in attempting against his owne life. But is there anie thing more naturall then the combination of male and female? If vve list to lift vp our minds to the contemplation of this great handie vvorke of God, vvich vve call the vvorld, vve shall find combination of male and female, as vvell in the celestiaall vvorld, as in base terrestriall. Among the starres and plannets, the sunne is as the male, and the moone as the female: and this may vve discern in that the sunne is vvhote and drie, as man, and the moone cold and moist, as vvoman. Among the other plannets *Venus* beareth the name, & hath the operation of the female, the rest of the male. If vve proceed to speak of their substāce and forme, *Aristotle* in his vvonderfull vvorke of the history of Creatures, as also after him *Albert* the great, doe say: That the forme taketh the place of the male, and the substance the place of the female. Also that as one man can beget sundrie vvomen vvith child, so the forme

may informe sundrie substances. *Aristotle* saith further, that as the substance desireth the form, so the woman desireth the man. Likewise that to make this combination of substance and forme; the substance, before it receiue the form, must be ordered and prepared according to the exigence of the forme. As for example, if of an earthly substance wee would make fire, we must first purge and purifie it from the earthlinesse, and so neere as possible we can, bring it to the subtiliation and simplicitie of fire. Of the signes of the Zodiacke and fixed starres, some be male, and some female. What shall we say more? Let vs behold the great marriage and combination that is betweene the sunne and the earth: The sunne is the male, and the earth the female. What an admirable combination (saith *Aristotle*) doe we behold in this marriage? The earth as the female conceiueth, and as a mother ministreth nutritiue moisture to all trees and plants: The sunne as the male & father, imparteth his quickening heat. Each actiue is married to his passiue, yet doth there nothing come to effect, vnlesse between the agent which is the male; and the patient, which is the female, there be a due proportion, euen as the mariage of a giant or Ciclops with a Pigmee, can produce nothing. Moreouer, experience and
necessity

necessity doth sufficiently proue a combination of male and female in all creatures. As for things vegitable, as trees and plants, if vve read the Greek writers, as *Theophrast*, *Galen*, *Dioscorides*, the Arabians, as *Serapion*, *Auicenne*, *Rhasis*, *Auerrobaes*, the Latines, as *Pliny* and others that haue written of the nature of plants, we shal also in trees and plants find male and female, which if they bee planted neere together, doe shew forth a great demonstration of their naturall amity; for the branches of the male doe naturally shoot forth towards the female, as if they would imbrace her. O what a secret of nature is this, or rather of God, the maker of the same! This wonderful loue of trees is more apparent in the palm tree thē in any other, for if the female palm be planted neere to her male, their leaues and branches will enterioine and shut so close together, that without breaking, you shall hardly part thē, as *Aluredus* a rare Authour, and one that hath written most of the nature of plants, doth report. Cōcerning the mariage and cōbination of minerals, as mettals and precious stones, the gold stands for the male, the siluer for the female, as by experience, your couining Alcumists may find: who (as saith *Iohn* the 22 Pope) struiuing to enrich others, starue thēselues. *Bartholomew* the Englishmā, aliās *Glanuile*, in his

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naturall worke saith : A leafe of gold ioined
vvith a leafe of siluer, if it be ioined as it ought,
the conglutination vvill be so vvited and con-
ioined, that they cannot be diuided. Likevvise
among precious stones, some are male, and
some female; as vve may see in such Authors as
haue vvritten of them: as *Suax*, *Pliny*, *Marbode-
us*, *Albert the great*, *Mathew Siluarius*, and
others. The auncient Poets (as *Cicero* vvitnes-
seth) in antiquity goe before the Philosophers,
did vse to cōcreale the substance of their diuine
cogitations vnder the shadow of fables: as for
example, vnder the fable of *Orpheus*, vvho des-
cended into hell to fetch forth his vvibeloued
vvife *Euridice*, they figured the loue that euerie
husband ought to beare to his vvife: for if ma-
trimoniall loue penetrateth euen to hell, where
(as *Job* saith) eternall horror hath her habitati-
on, should it not in reason bee far more seruent
in this vvorld? If mariage vvere had in honour
in the kingdome of *Plato*, vvhich is the mansi-
on house of darkenesse, shall it not bee had in
greater honour in the kingdome of *Iupiter*, the
habitation of light? Why did antiquitie faine
Iupiter, *Gamelius*, *Iuno*, and *Lucina*, to bee the
gods and goddeses of mariage and childbirth,
but only to shew that Marriage is a diuine and
sacred vvorke, vvhereof both gods and god-
deses

dessees ought to haue a care? If the labourour, that by negligence suffereth his fieldes to lie barren, that otherwise wvould beare Wheate, Rye, Barlie, Oats, Pease, Beanes, or such like for the releefe of the Commonvveale, deserueth great blame: shall not that man vvith greater reason be blamed, vvho through his owne negligence leaueth that field vnrilled vvhich would bring forth and nourish men, to replenish, gouerne, and defend the Commonvveale? The fields vvhere vve sow Wheat, must haue much labour, great labour, and continuall care: but the field vvhere vve sow men and vvomen, need no great trauaile, neither is there any labour therein deuoid of pleasure and incredible delight. Doth it not then stand more vvith mans liking and the benefite of the Commonvveale to sow men then corne? If thou shouldest alledge an inconuenience and say, Whereof shall man and vvoman liue, if there bee no corne, I answere: If the generation of mankind should cease or faile, vvho shall till the earth, sow, reap, thrash or gather in the fruits of the earth? It is good therefore to doe the one, and not leaue the other vndone: and yet of the propagation of mankind doth all the rest depend. Who shall then blame that vvhich God hath instituted, nature commanded, reason perswaded, all lear-

ning both diuine and humane allowed, all laws
aucthorised, the consent of all men approued,
and from the beginning of the world to this
day put in practise. If we must loue such things
as bee honest, albeit laboursome, much rather
must we loue those things, which as they be ho-
nest, so they be pleasant and delectable. Can
there be any thing more honest then mariage,
or more delectable then carnall copulation?
Againe, as wee cannot thinke him a good gar-
diner that can sufficiently proine and cherish
such trees as hee hath already in his Orchard,
vnlesse he bee also carefull and diligent in plan-
ting and grafting of new to succeed in the pla-
ces of those which in proceffe of time may wax
old and die, so cannot hee be thought a good
citizen or a maintainer of his Commonweale,
vwho contenting himself vvith his citizens now
liuing, hath no farther regard to beget any new
to supplie the roome of those that by age, sick-
nesse, vvarre, pestilence, famine, or any other
accident, happen to die. Consequently there-
fore he cannot be thought a good citizen that
taketh no care, so far as in him lieth, for the mul-
tiplying and increasing of his Commonweale.
Canst thou find any sweeter comfort in this
world, then to liue with her to whom thou art
yoked, not only by good wil, but also by a reci-
procall

procall communication of bodies? Who so is desirous to vnderstand the great effects of the bodily coniunction, may read the verses of the ancient Poet *Lucretius* in his book of nature, as also the most learned Philosopher *Marsilius Ficinus* in his cōmentaries vpon *Platoes* banquet, where he also rehearseth the verses of the said *Lucretius*. If we take a great delight in cōferring of our secret affairs with our friends and neighbors, how much more shal we delight to impart our cogitations to her to whō we speak as confidently as to our selues, who also must share with vs in our wealth & wo, and doth take our good or hurt to be her own. To our other friends vve are conioined only by hearty good vvill, but to our vvives vve are euen tied by souerein charity, corporal cōmixon, sacred confederation, & inseparable cōpany and society in all kind of fortune. In all other friendship there resteth much dissimulation, for friends for the most part are dissemblers & counterfeits, fitly resembled to swallowvs that keep vs cōpany all summer, but at the cōming of the cold vvinter are gone: and indeed such friends are friends to our prosperity euē so long saith *Ouid*, as the sweet vvind of *Zephyrus* blowveth on vs, but vvhen the biting cold northern wind (vvhich the Greeks term *Boreas*) begins to blow, they are quite gone, ye set no more

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more eie on them: but the loue of a couple, honestly married, is for euer indissoluble. Of such vve haue the examples remembred in sundrie choise Authors, as among the rest the most notable loue of *Tiberius Gracchus* to his vvife *Cornelia*; vvho chose to die, that his vvife might liue: vvherein it is to be doubted vvwhether were greater, her felicitie to light vpon such a one, or her calamitie to lose him. If among husbands wee haue found *Tiberius Gracchus*: so among vvives vve may find manie more, beside those whom *Plutarch* hath collected in his booke of Renowned vvomen; in whome wee may read the admirable affection of vvomen to their husbands. What more might vvee adde to this discourse? If thou be poore, and Fortune frowne, she will comfort thee. Canst thou haue anie neerer or more amiable consolation? Is there anie pleasure comparable vvith the pleasure of marriage? If through feare, sicknesse, or anie other inconuenience, thou beest forced to keep thy house, thy vvife vvill ease the auoy of thy solitarinesse. If thou goest abroad, thou vvilt bee glad to leaue in thy house the person that thou best trustest. At thy departure thy vvife vvill bring thee to the dore vvith kisses, and at thy returne she vvill receiue thee with callings. Thy departure vvill make her sad, but thy returne

will

will reioice her. At bed and at bord, vvhich are as vve say, priuiledged places, thou shalt bee as vvelcome as the bright sunne after a long raine. In thy youth shee vwill bee to thee a sweete and amiable companion, and in old age she vwill be an acceptable solace. Nature hath produced vs to liue in societie, not in solitarinesse like vvild beasts. *Aristotle* saith, That he that liueth solitarie is either a beast, or more then a man. What sweeter company canst thou haue then of her, vvith vvhome thou hast all things in common? Sith we see many beasts delight to liue in company, vvhat must man doe, vvho is a reasonable creature? Should vve hate any thing more the man that is borne but for himselfe onely? Who doth nothing but for himselfe, neither liueth but for himselfe: Such a man deserueth to be sequestred from the society of all men, & vvith *Timon*, be cast into the deepest gulfe of the *Ionique* sea, there to be food to the *Tritons*, *Mermaids*, and other the monsters of the sea. Again, by marriage a mā multiplieth in friends, affinitie, kindred and neighbourhood (vvhich is no small matter:) His brethren, sisters, nephewes, and nieces, doe grow double. Neither doe I speake of the great and soueraigne benefite of peace that groweth betweene Monarchs and great Princes by marriage, yet by

experience vvee find that there is no peace so firme as the same vvhich groweth hereof. So long as Iulia the daughter of Iulius Cæsar, and wife to Pompey, liued, the Romanie Empire enioied peace; but vpon her death the inextinguible fire of ciuile vvar kindled and subuerted their Commonweale. Vpon the life of the said Princeesse depended the tranquillitie of the Romanie Empire, yea euen of the whole world, as appeared soone after her decease. What benefit and felicity had the Romanes reaped of that mariage, if it had long continued? And vpon the expiration thereof, into vvhath calamity and ruine did they fall? In this terrestriall vworld is there any thing more to be desired then peace, without the vvhich all vvealth is but pouerty, al ioy sorrow, and all life very death? Moreouer, proceeding in our principall purpose, Among other the felicities of mariage, vvhich can expresse the comfort of the father that seeth his little children playing before him? *Socrates* the Philosopher, by the Oracle of *Apollo* deemed the vviseest man of his time, rode vpon a stick among little children? *Octavius Cæsar Augustus* so farre abased the imperiall grauity, as to play with little children at cobnut, as I haue set down in my dedicatory epistle of my hundred considerations of loue. But O good God! what

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a ioy is it to the father to see his liuely portraiture abridged in the face of his children, & the same so liuely, that Lysippus, Mentor, Policletus, Phidias, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, Appelles, or Parrhasius could neuer paint or work the like. When thy children grow great (if they proue as they ought) they vvil be a staffe to thy old age, a prop to thy vweakenesse, and a pillar to thy house. By the course of nature outliuing thee, at thy death they shall close thine eies, prouide for thy funerals, and performe the ceremonies therein requisite. It is a goodly matter for a man to die among his owne. Octavius Augustus aforenamed, desired to die in the bosome, even betweene the armes of his so vvelbeloued wife, the faire and learned Livia Drasilla. Againe, being married, doest thou make no account of thy viues industrie about her huswiferie? Whē thou sleepest many times shee vvatcheth, shee spinnereth, she soweth, she laboureth and goeth vp and downe the house, as carefull vvith great diligence to keepe that vvich thou hast gotten with great labour. I will not speak of linnen, which is one of the most necessary and cleanliest things belonging to houshold. Will not a man delight to eat at the cloth, and lie in the sheets vvich his wife hath spun and sowed. Women haue time out of mind ben very famous for

A a ij

their

their good spinning, sowing, and needlwork :
and not only women of meane and base cal-
ling, but euen the wuiues and daughters of Em-
perours, Kings, and Princes. *Varro* an Authour
of great authority, vvhom *Saint Augustine* in
his *Citie of God* accounteth the best learned
of all the Latines, reporteth that in his time at
Rome in the Temple of *Ancus Martius*, they
kept the distaffe and spindles of the princeesse
Tanaquille, vvith the remainder of the vvool
vvhereof shee had spunne the royall robe that
Seruius Tullius vvore. Neither vvill it bee amisse
here to make mention of the Heathen Lawe,
vvhich forbade vvomen to spinne as they vvalk-
ed the streets and common high vvayes. And
eue at this day some there be so fantastickall, that
they thinke it ominous to meet a vvoman spin-
ning, vnlesse immediately shee plucke her dis-
taffe from her side. This matter putteth mee in
mind to vvrite one thing vvorthy the noting,
vvhich is this: The two greatest Monarchs that
euer vvore, namely, *Alexander the great*, and
Octavius Augustus (vnder vvwhose Empire our
saviour *Iesus Christ* vouchafed to be born) ne-
uer vvore other robes then the same that their
wuiues, daughters, or sisters had spunne, vvap-
ped, vvoven, and sowed. At the making of the
league betweene the Romanes & the Sabines,
and

and their Kings Romulus and Tatius, among other things it was decreed, that the Sabine wives should not be forced to any labour, but to spinne, weaue, and sow. The auncient Iberians vsually caused their wives to bring into a publicke place the cloth that they had spunne, and there she that had made the finest & best, was among the rest had in greatest honor, and rewarded. This discourse putteth me in mind that I haue read in the vyorkes of the noble Poet *Claudian*, that the Princeesse Serena sister to the two Romane Emperours, Arcadius and Honorius, sent to her said brother Arcadius to Constantinople (which was then the seat of the Empire) the bards and caparrison of a horse very artificially wrought with her needle, and embrodered and purphiled with her owne hand, as also certain other most excellent cloths to her brother Honorius. Neither can I well tell which hand most to commend, whether the said Princeesse hand that wrought so well, or the manlike hand of the Poet *Claudian* that hath so well and eloquently set downe the presentatiue Epigram of the said gift. But to end this disputation, If Lots daughters shamed not to commit most horrible incest with their father, for feare least they should die without issue, what shall euery wise man doe, that by

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mariage may haue propagation and issue without committing sinne against God, or incurring infamy vvith the vvorld? What man I pray you may iustly reprocue matrimony, sith the lawes both of God and man doe thereunto exhort vs, nature induce vs, honesty allure vs, infinite commodities inuite vs, all Nations lead vs the vvay; and lastly, necessitie of perpetuating our kind dooth inforce vs? Adam our first father vvvas married by Gods owne hand: Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, and his sonnes, Moses, Iosue, and all the Patriarkes and Prophets: Aron, Eleazar, Hely, Samuel, and all the Priests of the Iewish law: Saule, Daud, Salomon, and the rest of the kings of the Iewes: All the Babilonian, Assyrian, Persian, Median, Grecian & Romane Monarkes: *Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Plutarke*, and all the Philosophers, except a few Sennicks were married, and held Matrimony in great reuerence. Now, therefore it only remaineth that we answere such principles as are alledged to the contrary, which by one only answere may be confuted. Those Philosophers & Poets that contemned mariage were Ethnicks, and blinded in their owne wisedome, or rather folly, vvanting the knowledge of the truth that God hath since vouchsafed to reueale vnto vs, neither is it any meruaile that they erred in the
contempt

contempt of matrimony, sith they erred in the knowledge of the souerain good, vthereto they could neuer attaine. I meane not in this worke to vwrite any satire against them, the rather for that the most learned and most eloquent Author *Lactantius Firmian* hath strained the sinews of his eloquence in his diuine institutions, in confutation of their said vaine wisdom, and to him I referre thee. As a bad raine bringeth more barrenesse then plentie, so the controuersies of the Philosophers, who (as *Lucian* saith) could neuer agree among theselues, hath bred amōg men more confusion then doctrine. The wine of vworldly wisdom breedeth more drunkenesse then wisdom, it puffeth vp, but satisfieth not, and procureth more ingurgitation then comfort. Saint *Augustine* the Eagle of all Ecclesiasticall Doctors, did alwaies preferre the Platonists before all other Philosophers, as approching neereſt to Christian truth. But vvee shall neuer find that *Plato* or any of his schollers contemned Marriage; but rather extolling it, imposed a penaltie vpon such as vwould not marrie, as appeareth in the sixt Dialogue of his Lawes. Now to the end, as vwell the Husband as the Wife, may reciprocally knowe how to beare themselves in the gouernment of their family, I haue thought
good

good to bring into an Epilogue the duties as
vvell of the one, as of the other.

The duties of the Husband toward his Wife.



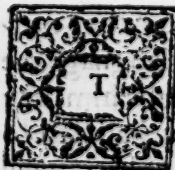
He duties of the Husband to-
vvard the vvife being reduced
into an Epitome, are fīue : The
first, That euery Husband be-
vvare that he iniure not his vvife
in vvord or deed, but rather to praise, honor,
and loue her: for honouring his vvife, he hono-
reth himselfe. The Lawyer saith, That married
vvīues are & must be beutified vvith the beams
of their Husbands, and the Husband must be
he that must set others an example hovv to ho-
nour his vvife, vvich if he doe, he shall induce
his vvife to honour him, but if doing the con-
trary hee offer her iniurie, shee vvill thereof take
occasion to practise against him and his honor.
Among good Authors, vvee find the examples
hereof more plentiful then raine in Februarie.
But the sole memorable example of Clitem-
nestra the vvife of Agamemnon, shall content
vs for this time, vvho being iniured by her hus-
band, and meaning to reuenge the iniury, com-
mitted Adultery, and finally consented to the
death of her said Husband Agamemnon. It is

a com-

a common Prouerbe, Spight me and I will anger thee. Now is there nothing in the vvorld more spightfull then a vvoman, namely, if she knoweth her selfe to be iniured, and that her husband doth vvithout cause, entreat her hardly. It is also another common Prouerbe, Anger thy dogge too much, and he will bite thee. Euery vvise husband therefore must take heed that he iniure not his wife, neither vse her hardly, By too much straining, the Eele oftentimes scapeth away. Vlisses so vvell intreated his vvife Penelope, that thereupon she kept vnto him her plighted faith during his long absence, notwithstanding she had many occasions to haue dealt otherwise. The like law may likewise take place concerning seruants, male or female, vvhom their Maisters should not vvrong. For euery Maister is to remember that his seruant is the creature of God, as wel as himselfe, & that in the Maisters house the seruant should be as in a sanctuarie and place of safetie, vvhere no man should haue vvrong. The auncients had a priuate and domesticall god, vvhom they tearmed the god Lar, vyhich in our language vve may interpret the god of the hearth: him they held in such reuerence, that if any had fled to the hearth, albeit in the house of his capitall enemye, yet durst not his enemye haue offered

him anie violence, no not in his owne house:
For there he was as in a place of priuiledge &
franchise. By such meanes was *Themistocles* the
Athenian (a wise and most valiant Prince) sa-
ued, for being banished Athens, he fled to the
hearth of his capitall enemye, who durst not
there wrong or strike him. The hearth was de-
dicated and sacred to the goddesse *Vesta*, who
had her holy place where the cheefe fire of the
house was made. If then we be forbidden to
use violence to our enemye that flieth to our
hearth, also that our seruants male or female
haue interest in our hearth, and thereupon (as
also by the sentence of the *Pithagorists*) we are
forbidden to doe them wrong, how much ra-
ther should the husband beware of offering vi-
olence to his wife, who next to himselfe, is the
principal person of his bed, his table, his hearth,
yea euen of all his house?

The second dutie of the Husband toward his Wife.



He second dutie that the husband
oweth toward his wife, is this:
That he forbear the carnal com-
pany of any other but his wife,
for otherwise if his wife knowe
it, he shal entangle himselfe in a more inextrica-
ble

ble Labyrinth then the same of Porsena or Dedalus, neither will shee ever afford him good looke, but rather practise to reuenge and quit him with the like ; as thinking she hath good cause to breake with her husband, sith he breaketh with her. The wiues suspition of her husbands incontinencie, or his of hers, breedeth a most greuous passion, or rather a fury or rage, which we tearme iealousie. The Philosopher *Chrysippus* making a description of iealousie saith, iealousie is a disease of the mind, proceeding of fear, least that be imparted to another which we would not haue common to any but our selues. The diuines do say that iealousie is ingendred of loue, which will not admit any companion in the thing beloued. In reading the best Authors, we shal find, that of all nations the Parthians are the most iealous of their wiues, wherupon the women going out at doores, do neuer shew their faces or stomacks, & such as be of good calling, goe in close vailles, that they may not be seene. Pope *Pius* the 2 in his description of certaine naturall baths of Germany, where himselfe was present, did much maruel at the familiarity of the Dutch-women, who would euē in presence of their husbands step naked into the baths among men. He saith moreouer, that ther is not in the world any Nation lesse iealous then the Germanes,

albeit their vvomen bee most soueraigne faire. The English doe suffer their vvives to be merry in tauernes vvithout suspition. But by the testimony of the same *Aeneas Siluius*, The Italians contrariwise are as iealous as any, of their vvome; I wil not say that such as follow that haunt, are as bad for their boies also. The authors truth is not much to be suspected, for himselfe vvvas an Italian of Sienna. In matter of iealousie vve haue of both sorts. *Plutarch* in his booke, howv a man may learne to take profite of vertue, saith that perfect carnall loue vvvas neuer free from iealousie; also as enuie is a prouocation to vertue, so is iealousie a spurre to perfect loue. *Plinie* in his natural historie, and after him *Solinus*, doe report, that of all beasts the vvild Ass, by the Greeks called Onager, is the most iealous: For in a vvhole Heard of females, there is but one male, and he is so iealous, that he vvill not suffer anie other but himselfe among them: Besides, vvhen the female chaunceth to haue a male colt, the sire vvith his teeth vvill bite of his genetories, as fearing he should couer his dam. Yet for the preservation of their kind, Nature hath taught the females to make their young ones in so close a corner, that the male shall not find them in hast, otherwise their kind must soone perish.

Sith vvee must declaime against Iealousie,
what difference betweene hanging in a silken
halter, and a hempon halter, Is the paine of the
one lesse than the other? Or is the death the ea-
sier? He is a starke foole, what doe I say a foole?
Euen a mad man, that vwillingly putteth his
feet in the stockes, yea vvere they of massie
gold. When the Romane Emperour Valerian
(by the commandement of Saporess, King of
Persia) vvas bound in golden chaines, vvas he
at more ease then if they had ben of yron? It is
not the silken counterpoint, neither the tester
& valence of frized gold, or the Veluet, Sattin,
or Damaske curtaines that make a mā to sleep
more sweetly, then if the whole furniture vwere
of say or broad cloth. If thy heart be in care, thy
mind vwill be troubled vwith melancholy: if thy
wife be faire, she vwill mend thy bed, but thy
thoughts vwill be more troubled: if on the one
side her beautie pleaseth and comforteth thee,
on the other it vwill hurt thee. Thy iealousie
and care how to keepe her, blotteth out the
pleasure that thou takest in lying vwith her,
and many times thou iealous foole, in thy heart
thou vvilt say, O honey vvilt thou neuer be free
from gaule?

The third dutie of the Husband towards his Wife.



Between the husband and the wife, as concerning carnall copulation, there must bee such a moderation, that there bee no want when they are together, as also that they bee able to forbear when they be asunder: yet must they so beare themselves that as well absent as present the one may be content with the other. The ground of this law is this, If they vse it too much when they are together, they shal hardly forbear when they be asunder, for custome is another nature. Married wuiues doe sometimes, and not without cause, complain of their husbands that find cause to abridge their wuiues of their coniugall dutie, vnder colour of deuotion: others that alledge the dog daies, where in the powers are greatly dissolued, and therefore is nature then weake: others that they are sicke, and therefore must goe into the country to take the aire: others vpon friuolous occasions lie asunder: but such euasions doe but minister occasion to the wif to seeke her fortune elsewhere; and to borrow of such a one as if neither the feare of God, nor his own honor doe restraine him, feare not the Egyptian Caniculer

niculer daies, neither the course of the Moone. *Pliny* in his naturall historie saith, That man is in Winter more prone to carnall copulation, & woman in summer. The same said *Hesiodus* before; and his commenter, vvhoforming a reason for it, saith, That man is naturally vvhole & drie, and the summer being likewise vvhole and drie, drieth him vp the more, and so consumeth his courage, vvvhich maketh him the more vvvilling thereto: That vvoman is naturally cold and moist, as is likewise vvinter, and that the moisture and cold of vvinter maketh her more cold and moist, and consequently lesse apt to the said action. Furthermore, that the fittest and most couenient time for generatiō is the spring, as being in qualities more temperate. Againe, vvomen are tenne times more subiect to these things then men, especially vvhen they are vvith child, for then the seed conceiued, moueth the sinewes, vvvhich by confrication moueth the appetite and desire. Carnall cōmixtion (saith *Celsus*) must be neither too much nor too little; slow and rare raiseth the body, but too often pulleth it downe. For little or much, nature teacheth sufficiently, vvho the vvise man that loues his life vvill neuer veke. The night is the fittest & safest time, and the vvinter better then the summer. Immediately after the action, all labour is hurtfull, and

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and rest is fittest: but to vse it immediately after meat is very vnwholesome, because the concussion and motion requisit, corrupteth digestion. A Greeke Philosopher saith, So much time as a man spendeth in that action, so much doth he cut off fro his life. All vvinde meat, as Pease, Beanes, Lintils, Raddish, Turneps, &c. do prouoke, and in that regard such as had vowed virginie or chastite, were forbidden to eat the same, as in old time the Vestall Virgines & such others, that purposed to preserue their chastity as *Plutarch* in his Romanie problemes doth report. The same Authour in his booke of naturall things doth say, That fatietie is the companion of lust, and the hungrie man is verie vnfit thereunto, so he must be well fed, for of abundance of food groweth plentie of seed. Wee haue a common Prouerbe, The full paunch is readie to dance. The Poet saith, Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus quailleth. True it is neuerthelesse, that excelsiue eating and drinking, make a man vnfit for generation. *Aristotle* in his Prouerbes saith, That the drunken man can not engender, neither is his seed fruitfull: and that vvas it that made Alexander vnable to engender, for hee vsed to bee drunke, as *Plutarch* saith in his booke of the preseruatiō of health: albeit the same Authour seeketh to excuse him

of drunkennesse in his booke of the vertue and fortunes of *Alexander*. Of *Alexanders* drunkennesse and intemperancie, hath the learned *Celius* in the 30 Chapter of his 15 booke of Auncient readings, spoken at large. *Pliny* an Authour of great aucthoritie in the fifth of the foureteenth of his Naturall hystorie saith, That through drunkennesse *Alexander* with his owne hand slew many of his friends. *Venus* is also to old men hurtfull, and to them that be decrepit, rancke poyson : because being drie, the same drieth them more. The asorenamed great *Alexander* vwhen his Parasites perswaded him to thinke himselfe a god, said, That by two things especially he knew himselfe to be a man and no god, namely, by sleepe and carnall lusts. *Socrates* being old and crooked, gaue thanks to old age that it had freed him from the bondage of a furious lord, that vvas, his appetite and carnall desires.

The fourth dutie of the Husband toward his Wife.



He fourth dutie of the Husband to his Wife is this, Let him that minded to marrie, marrie a Virgine rather then a vyidow, in case hee list to bring his wvife to his Law, and

frame her to his owne conditions, vwhere to he shall not so easily vvinne her that hath ben married, in that she hath before framed her selfe to the conditions of hir first husband, or him that had her maidenhead. This Law is taken out of the auncient Poet *Hesiodus*, vwho vsed this sentence.

*Let him that his wife to his bent will draw,
Match with a virgine, and kespe her in aw.*

True it is, *Hesiodus* might haue done vwell if he had to his former speeches added this which followeth:

*Yet many times the most subtle and slie,
In such like bazards are matched awry.*

The Romanes vsed vwith the crown of chastity (as they tearmed it) to crowne such viiues as after their husbands deaths, liued in perpetuall vwidowhead: vwhere to the Storke, Doue, and Turtle did inuite them, vwho after the losse of their mate (male or female) kept perpetuall continency and vwidowhead: in regard vwhere of Nature hath vouchsafed to adorne them vwith a small circle or collar of speciall feathers, that they vweare about their neckes as a reward for their continency and chastity. The Author of the booke, tearmed by the Greeke vvord

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Phisilogus, reporteth, that it is a matter tried and experimented, that after the Turtle hath lost her mate, she neuer brancheth vpō a green bough, but alwaies seeketh the seare and withered (vvhich is a wonderfull secret in nature) therein declaring her sorrow and heauinesse. As for that vvherof *Hesiodus* speaketh of the wiuues conformity to her husbands conditions; reason requireth that as the sensual appetite ought to conforme it selfe to reason, and not reason to it, so is euery honest vvoman to conforme her selfe to her husbands conditions, not her husbands to hers. This continency among the rest, did the vvise Romane *Valeria* the sister of the *Messalus* obserue, of vvhom the Poet *Tibullus* in many of his vvorkes against such as hauing ben married and fallen into vvidowhead, and marie againe, dooth make most honourable mention. Hereof did the young *Beroaldus* make a double meeter, vvhich in regard it is so vvell compact, deserueth to be here inserted:

*Qui semel uxorem duxit, queritque secundam,
Naufragus ille iterum naufragium sequitur.*

The meaning whereof vve haue after a sort set downe in the verse following:

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*That man that once from mariage free,
yet hasteth to that paine,
The wracked man resembleth much,
that wrecke doth seeke againe.*

The fift duty of the Husband toward his Wife.



He fift dutie of the Husband to his Wife is this, That as the manners of the married must not bee proud and arrogant, so must not their garments and attire shewe any token of presumption or disguise-ment, exceeding the bounds of honestie : for such disguise-ment in apparrell, better be- seemeth plaiers of tragedies, satires, or comedies, which in our language vve terme moralities, follies, and enterludes. Now if the husband be to obserue modestie in his apparrell, much more the vvoman, and the rather because vve doe plainly see, that Nature hath alwaies beautified the male aboute the female. As among foure footed beasts, the horse is alwaies faire, and by nature better set forth then the mare : among Foules the Peacocke in his feathering doth farre sur- passe the Pehenne, the dunghill cocke the henne, &c. It is a great abuse for a vvoman to seeke to please her husband rather in her appa-
rell,

rell, then her vertues. For to bee chaste, discret,
diligent, and faithfull to her husband, is farre
more to be esteemed then to be vwell appárrel-
led, combed, decked vp and painted. And I
could vvish euery married vvife to take exam-
ple in the discret answere of Cornelia, a Ro-
mane Ladie, and vvife to Paulus Æmilius, and
the same to vvrite in her heart: This it vvas, On
a certaine time another Ladie shewed to the
said Cornelia her Rings, Iewels, Precious
stones, Tires, Robes and Garments, desiring
her likewise to shew hers, Cornelia said shee
vvould, but she must tarrievntill her children
came from schoole. They being come, shee
tooke her by the hand and said, Ladie, These
(shewing her little ones vvell brought vp and
nurtured) be my Rings, my Iewels, my Preci-
ous stones, my Garments, and my Delights,
vvhich I esteeme aboue all the Stones, Gold,
and Siluer in the vvorld. *Xenophon* in his orde-
ring of a houshold saith, As in the inward man-
ners there must bee no dissembling, so in the
outward apparrell there must be no dissolute-
nesse, for the garments must concurre with the
manners. Otherwise it is as in the Theatres a-
mong plaiers of Enterludes and Tragedies,
vvhere sometimes the Artificer shall act the per-
sonage of Agamemnon or Cæsar, and be ap-

parelled in purple vvith a crowne on his head;
yet vnder all this rich attire hee shall be but an
artificer or meane person. Vpon this speech
vve are to note, that Alexander in his geniall
daies and the fift booke, reporteth that in old
time in Rome honest vvomen vvere knowne
from harlots by their haire; for the honest
vvould haue their haire blacke, but the disso-
lute and harlots, yellow, or flaxen: And she
vvho by nature could not haue such as were re-
quisite, vvould very artificially counterfeit
them: neither vvill any thing make haire more
blacke then the iuice of the inward barke of
Walnuts vvhile they bee new, and that it is a
die vvhich vvill not bee easily vvashed away:
vvhereof also the sweet Poet *Tibullus* hath
made mention in his *Elegies*. In our daies the
Ladies of the Court haue accounted a blacke
haire to be a great beauty, and for that purpose
did make great vse of leaden combes. *Arnald*
de villa Nova, for making of flaxen haire, hath
made much adoe in his booke of painting and
adorning of vvomen; vvhich I haue here set
down, because some vvise vvoman reading our
vvritings, may peraduenture stand in need of
our aduertisement: Whom if it should so fall
out, I vvould send to the booke of the said Au-
thour: but if she vnderstand no Latine, yet let
her

her get some friend of hers to translate it, for therein shal she find many good experiments, as vvell for her haire and breasts, as for other her more secret parts. Furthermore, Because the superfluity and ouer-rich pompe of garments, especially of vvomen, may be pernitiuous to euery Commonweale (for husbands do for the most part so dote in the loue of their vvives, that they morgage and sell their inheritance to put it vpon their vvives backes and heads) we are to note that the Athenians endeoured to prouide against such superfluity and disorder in garments, vvhen in their Commonweale they created officers (by a Greeke vvoord, tearmed *Gyneconomes*) vvho had in charge to see that the Athenian vvives vsed no greater pompe in iewels and garments, then might stand with the estate of their husbands: as also they vvere by their aucthority to punish as vvell the husbands as the vvives that transgressed their order. The Romanes did in part imitate the Greekes, for at Rome their Censors had like aucthoritie and charge, as the *Gyneconomes* at Athens. Marcus Oppius, and T. Romuleius, Tribunes of the people, made a Lawe concerning the modestie of vvomens apparrell and iewels, vvhen Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius vvere Consuls, euen

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in the cheefest heat of the Punicke vvarre, and thereby reduced the Romane commonweale to greater felicitie. M. Fundanius, and L. Valerius, Tribunes, endeouored to abolish the said Law *Oppia*, alledging that vpon the ceasing of the publicke calamitie, the seueritie of the law ought also to cease. But against them M. Cato made a most eloquent oration, as vve may read in the fourth Decade of Titus Liuius. The Venetians, men of great providence and forecast, haue euen to this day certaine officers expressly aucthorised in like charge, as the Athenians and Romanes, to restraine and moderate the excesse in apparrell, iewels and embroderie of vvomen, as *Wall. Postell* reporteth in his Athenian commonweale, dedicated to Poyet, late chancellor of France. The French men are loth to be behind in like providence, for in the daies of Charles the sixt there was an edict published for reformation of apparrell, as likewise there vvvas (vvhiles I vvrit this booke) another published by king Henry the second.

Now after the duties of the Husband to the Wife, vvee must consequently proceed to the duties of the Wife to her Husband, to the end our present discourse may be every vvay accomplished.

The first dutie of the Wife towards her Husband.



He first dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this : That shee take the care and charge of all domesticall businesse that privately and perticularly belongs to her house, and so become Mistresse and Gouvernesse of the same : reserving to her Husband the charge and care of all things without the doores. The married Wife is to haue the rule and ouersight of the household, that is, her huswifery ; because the practise thereof is more conuenient and fit for her sexe, then for her Husband : I meane not of such base matters as fit not her calling, as the sweeping of the house, the washing of the dishes, scouring of pots and such like, which are to bee performed by the seruants or skullions ; not by the mistresses : vwhereagainst the Romane law tooke order, which ordained that honest Romane vviues should be exempt from grinding, kneading, baking, and playing the skuls in the kitchen, for so should the estate of an honest huswife be abased and grow into contempt. Well, the duty of the honest married wife, is to take the charge and ouersight of the domestical affairs.

as is aforefaid , and to keepe her felfe vvithin
dores, and not to gad abroad. For vvhat hath
an honeft woman to do roming vp and down
the ftreets, fith fhee hath not to doe vvith any
thing vvithout the dores? Is it for a husband-
man to prate and difcourfe in Schooles and
Colledges, vvhere there is nothing for him to
lopke vpon or to do? The Beetians had a cu-
ftome, that vvhen the bride firft entred her hus-
bands houfe, fhe fhould bring in one hand wa-
ter, in another fire: But vvhat meant that mifte-
rie? The meaning vvvas, that as fire purgeth, &
vvater cleanfeth; fo the wife muft be pure and
chafte, vvafhed and purged from all reproch: al-
beit both in my Metamorphofes, and in this
book I haue otherwife expounded it. The Ara-
bians, Grecians, and Italians doe vvually keepe
their vvives fhut vp in their houfes, almoft as
prifoners, and now likewise the Turks, as *An-
tony Geffrey* in his new hiftorie of Turkie doth
report. The Germanies and French doe giue
their vvives liberty to goe vvhere they lift. *Gil-
bert Grap* in his Oeconomicall Commentaries
faith, That in Gascoine the vvives are in no fub-
iection at all, but gad vp and downe at their
pleafures like the ancient Amazons: but I haue
had more conuerfation among them then he,
yet did I neuer fee that they had more libertie
then

then other vvomen. Before I end this particular, vve are to note, that *Diodore* the Sicilian in his histories doth report, That *Isis* Queene of *Egypt* made a law, that vpon the mariage day the husband should take a solemne oath betweene his wifes hands, that hee should not meddle with any household affaires, and the wifelikewise betweene her husbands hands, that shee should neuer entermeddle vvith anie forren affaires or businesse.

The second duty of the wifetowards her husband.

THe second dutie of the wifeto the Husband, is this: That shee suffer not any to come into the house without expresse licence or commandement of her husband: for euerie honest vvoman is to feare the comon report that is made of the wantonnesse of women, & must endeouour to her power to make the euill speakers (that can sing no other song but the incontinency of vvomen) liers: as also shee is to conceale all domesticall vvants, and not to publish them abroad. Bearing her selfe in this manner, if any reproch or dishonour should fall out by any that commeth in, the blame should light vpon her husband, and not vpon her.

The third dutie of the Wife toward her Husband.

THe third dutie is this : That shee ouersee the household expences, namely, vpon the solemne and feastiuall daies, but so as her husband giue her leaue. The reason of this dutie is grounded vpon this, That the wife shall thinke vpon many small trifles and businesse of the house, vvhich the husband cannot in honour looke into, as linnen both for the table and the bed; besides, she shall sooner find out the craft and deceit of seruants, men or women, then her husband. Of such deceits of seruants hath the Comickall Poet *Terence* vvritten most eloquently, as also of late daies *Aeneas Siluius*, since called *Pius* the second, in his small tract of the loues of Eurialus and Lucretia. Another reason may be this, that vpon feastiuall daies they commonly vse a more bountifull diet the vpon vvorking daies, and then if the vvife haue the ordering of the expence, she vvill be more sparing the her husband. For the vvomankind (but I know no reason for it) is more nigardly then the masculine: and then albeit the vvife be more hard then her husband, yet shall no such hardnesse be a reproch to her, as it vvould be to her husband.

The fourth dutie of the Wife toward her Husband.

THe fourth dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this; That she be not so sumptuous in her apparell as the law or custome of the countrie dooth permit: And the rather, because rich embroderie and precious cloths, or bodily beautie, are no such commendation to a vvoman, as modestie, vvhich consists both in deeds, vvords, gesture, and garments. The gorgeous attire of vvomen, doe make men more dissolute and bent to lust, namely, vvhen they build vvide windowes for their breasts, and giue their eies liberty to wander. The open breasts, the naked stomacke, the frizeld haire, and especially the vvanton eie, and lasciuious or shamelesse countenance, are the forerunners of Adulterie: If you vvill not belecue me, read *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, and *Ouid*, and you shall find it so,

The fift duty of the Wife to her Husband.

THe fift dutie of the Wife to her husband is this, That in all forraine affaires and businesse shee entermeddle not, neither take anie oversight, but reserue the same to the diligent

care of her husband, contenting her selfe vvith the administration and gouernement of her household businesse. The ground of this dutie is this, That as it befeemeth not the husband to meddle in the trifling businesse of the house, so is it as vnseemly for the vvoman to take the administration and dealing in forraine affaires. In this regard hath nature formed the body of the woman more delicate, weak, and of lesse force then the mans, that shee should not busie her selfe in such affaires as need to bee followed abroad or managed without dores: but the body of man she hath made more rough, strong, and boisterous, to the end hee should bee able to trauell vp and downe in the wind and raine, and many times in forrain countries to get a liuing as well for himselfe as his family, vvhich he could neuer do to his good, were his body delicat, tender and vnable to bear out the toile, as his wiues is. O good God! how hath nature prouided? or rather God himselfe her Creator?

The sixth duty of the Wife towards her Husband.

THe sixth dutie of a woman to her husband is this: That she wholly obey her husband, euen in those things that concerne forrain businesse, and without dores. Yet we doe read of some married wiues among the Romanes of
such

such impudency & rashnesse, that leauing their household affaires they aduentured to runne to the hals & iudgement seats at Rome to plead, and contrary to all duty of honesty, to practise the office of aduocats, as among others Amessia, Hortensia, and Afrania. And albeit some commended their courage, eloquence, and ready wits, yet did more contemne their impudence and rashnesse, and among a fewe that praised them, they found an infinite number of reproouers. Euen for the honestie of the feminine sexe, I will not speake of the report of the Lawyer in the Pandects, cōcerning the shamelesse Calphurnia, and the part that shee plaied as plaintife. Againe, No honest married wife is to deale in the affaires of the Commonweale, much lesse to meddle with making of marriages, vnlesse for her owne children and seruants, vwherin she must also referre her selfe to the discretion of her husband, least shee incurre the name of a harebraine.

The seventh duty of the Wife to her Husband.

THe seventh dutie of the Wife to her Husband is this: That she account the conditions of her Husband to be the lawes of her life. These, if they bee good, shee must wholly imitate

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imitate, if bad, she must patiently beare them, for in so doing, shee shall order her household vvell; if contrariwise, euill.

The eight dutie of the Wife to her Husband.

THe eight dutie of the married Wife to her Husband is this: That she loue, esteeme, & honour him; that she loue him as her selfe, that she esteeme him as from vyhom shee taketh all her credite and honour, that shee honour him as her liefest lord, not in prosperitie onely, but also in aduersitie. If her husband chance to be poor, needie, diseased, or otherwise distraught, she must not therefore deride him, as *Iobs* wife did, neither taunt him as the good and holy man *Tobias* vwife did, but shee ought alwaies to vse him with gentle words, & to cherish him as a part of her owne bodie: So if God afterward blesse him vvith vvealth, or restore him to health, if he be not a very beast, hee vvill thinke himselfe much beholding to his vvife for her attendance in his sicknesse, or for bearing vvith his vvants in his pouertie. Besides, that the wife is to consider, that vertue cannot bee so vvell knowne in prosperitie, as in aduersitie. The good seaman is neuer knowne in a calme, but vvhen the sea is troubled, and in the storme.

The

The good Captaine or Souldior sheweth his valour in the field, and the good Phisition his skill vwhen the disease is in most force. Vertue, (saith the Prouerbe) is in prosperity blasted, but flourisheth in aduersity. Prosperity (sayth the Philosopher) purchaseth friends, but aduersity trieth them. Each wise Wife is to consider, that the vertuous *Alcest*, and chaste *Penslope*, had neuer purchased their eternall glory, had their husbands *Admetus* and *Vlises* ben alwaies fortunate : for their misfortunes vvrought their Wiues good in the purchase of their good names and immortall fame. I vvill not speake of the vvisdome of *Andromache* and *Hiphias*, vvho shall liue in glory so long as the vvorkes of *Homer* and *Ouid* shall remaine. Neither vvill I, to close vp this discourse, let passe the report of *Atheneus*, concerning a vvoman called *Theana*, vvho being demanded vvhat married Wife deserued commendation, answered, She that medleth only vvith her rocke and spindle, that loueth onely her husbands bed, and keepeth her tongue in quiet. In the Catalogue of honest married wiues, vve read of *Euadue* the wife of *Capaneos*, the aforenamed *Alcest* and *Penelope*, and *Laomedias* the vvife of *Protesilaus*. Of the Romane vvives that yet liue in good name, vvee haue *Caia* the vvife of *Tar-*

quin, Lucrece the wife of Colatine, Portia the wife of Brutus, Sulpitia the wife of Paterculus, Emilia the wife of Scipio, and Iulia the wife of Pompey. Of strangers and Barbarians all the Sibils, of whom *Varro* and *Lactantius* make honourable mention, as also Saint *Augustine* in his City of God. Many Amazons haue ben famous, as well for valour as chastity. *Camilla* deserued to be commended in *Virgils* verses, as did also *Cassandra*, King *Prismus* daughter. The Sabine wiues, both by Poets and Historiographers, haue been famous for their chastity, sobriety, and diligence. What els shall we say? The wiues of Sparta are reported in the feminine sexe to haue masculine courages. How deerey did *Hipsicrates* loue her husband *Mithridates*, and *Artemisia Mausolus*? What courage and skill in Armes had *Thomiris* the Queene of Scythia, and *Semiramis* Queene of the Assyrians? To speake of learned women, *Corinna*, *Sapho*, *Aspasia*, *Arctia*, *Cleobula*, Queene *Zenobia*, and *Cleopatra*, haue by learning made their sexe famous. *Hortensia* and *Cornelia* are accounted among the cheefe Oratoours of Rome. *Paulina* and *Polla* the wiues of *Seneca* and *Lucan*, shall for doctrine liue with all posterity. *Textor* in his Officiie maketh notable mention of the

lear-

learning and vertue of a Ladie of Millane,
named *Triulce*, vvho in our time vvvas vvell
seene in all good letters. What shall vve say
to the knowledge and ripe vvit of *Marga-*
ret of Valois, late Queene of Nauarre, as
her vvorkes vvill for euer testifie vnto all po-
sterity, and I haue more amplie and at
large declared in my Consolatorie Epistle
vpon her deceasse, directed to the renow-
med and most noble Prince and Lord An-
thony of Bourbon, Duke of Vandosme. If
vvee should here bring in such as not long
before the daies of our fathers, haue shew-
ed their courage and skill in Armes, *Marga-*
ret the vvife of *Henrie* the sixt of that name,
King of England, in a pitched field reco-
uered the victorie vvwhich her husband had
lost through pusillanimity. I vvill not speake
of the vertue, valour, or chastity of *Joane*
the Pufelle (vvho expelled the English out
of France, and by valour and force of armes
restored *Charles* the seuenth into his royall
seat and Kingdome) because most Historio-
graphers, both French and forren, haue so
largely and eloquently spoken thereof, that
I shall not need to say any more thereof: Be-
sides that the Poet *Valerand* hath very elo-
quently vvritten thereof in Heroicall verse,

of whose worke, notwithstanding whatsoeuer diligence, I could neuer recover but some fragments.

Of the institution and bringing vp of children.



Having intreated of Parents, wee are consequently to proceed to the children. Of the institution of children and their bringing vp, many excellent Authours both Greekes and Latines, old and new, haue written sundry discourses. Of the Greekes, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* in his *Politickes*, *Xenophon* in his first booke of the schoole of *Cyrus*, but *Plutarch* a most excellent Oratour and Grecian Philosopher, hath written a most learned booke purposedly. Of the Latines, *Quintilian* in his *Oratorie institutions* hath argued most learnedly, as also long since *Mapbe Vegien* data-rie to Pope *Martin* the first, hath argued and written a booke thereof, wherein he hath so largely discoursed of that matter, that he hath cut off all hope from any other to mend him: notwithstanding, *Vergerius*, and Pope *Pius* the second, before called *Aeneas Silvius*, haue expressely written thereof, as may evidently appeare to any that list at large to read that dis-

discourse. Here might we find place convenient to discourse at large of seruants, men and women, and of their fidelity due to their Masters and Mistresses, likewise how their Masters are to intreat them: Howbeit, in regard of other matter more difficult, we will referre thee to the Oeconomicall wvorkes of *Aristotle* and *Xenophon*, vvhoe haue handled the same both learnedly and eloquently, especially *Xenophon* in his most excellent Dialogue of household affaires.

PROceeding to our principall purpose: We haue heretofore sufficiently declared, that sedition is the plague to all Commonweales, also that the mark vvherrat euery good and politicke administrator of a Commonweale should aime, is to preferue his Cittizens in vnity. We haue also shewed the meanes how to doe it, and at large laid downe the causes that mooue Cittizens to sedition, and disperse all politicke vnity. Now are we to vnderstand, that vnity doth as farre differ from duality and plurality, as God doth differ from the Chaos; and that there is as great a separation between the Creator and the things created, as betweene vnity and plurality. Vnity (as the subtile Mathematician *Charles Bonill* in his book

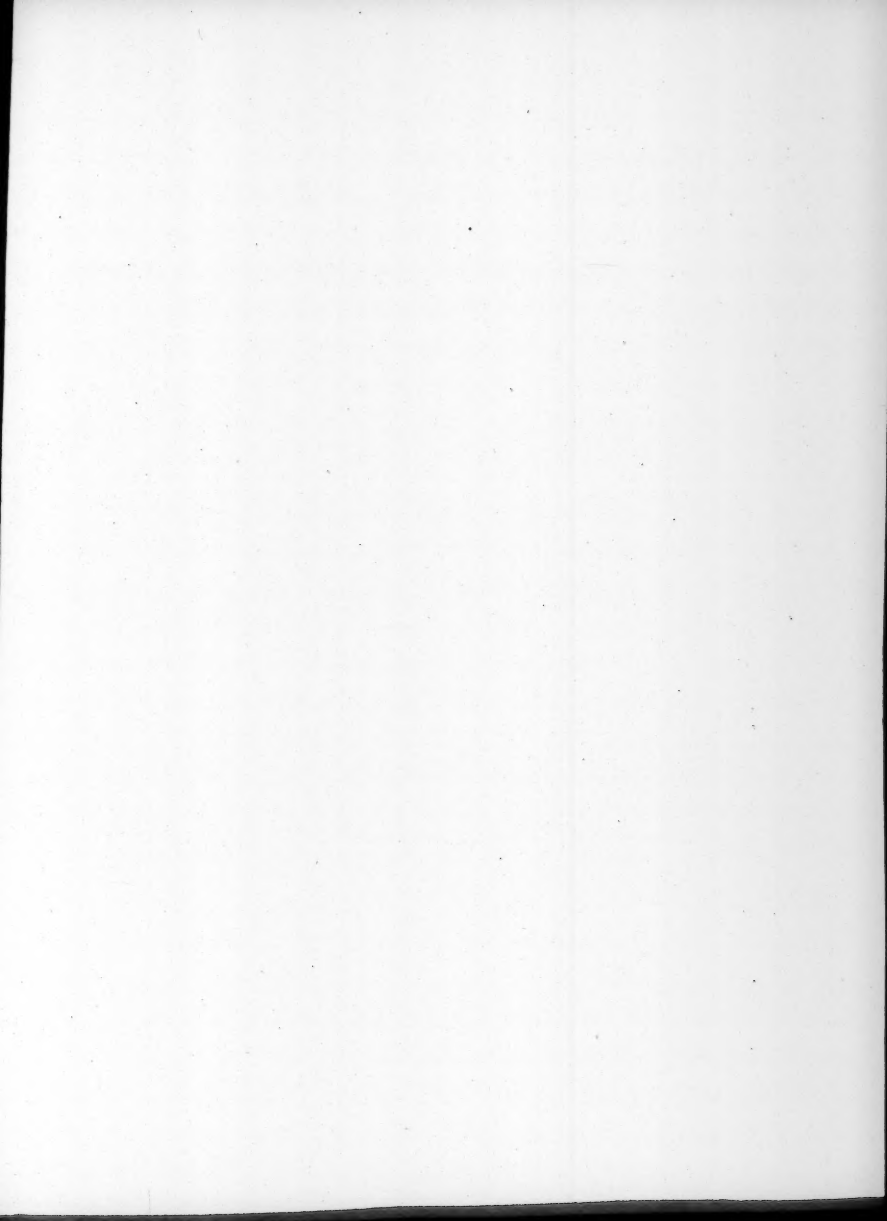
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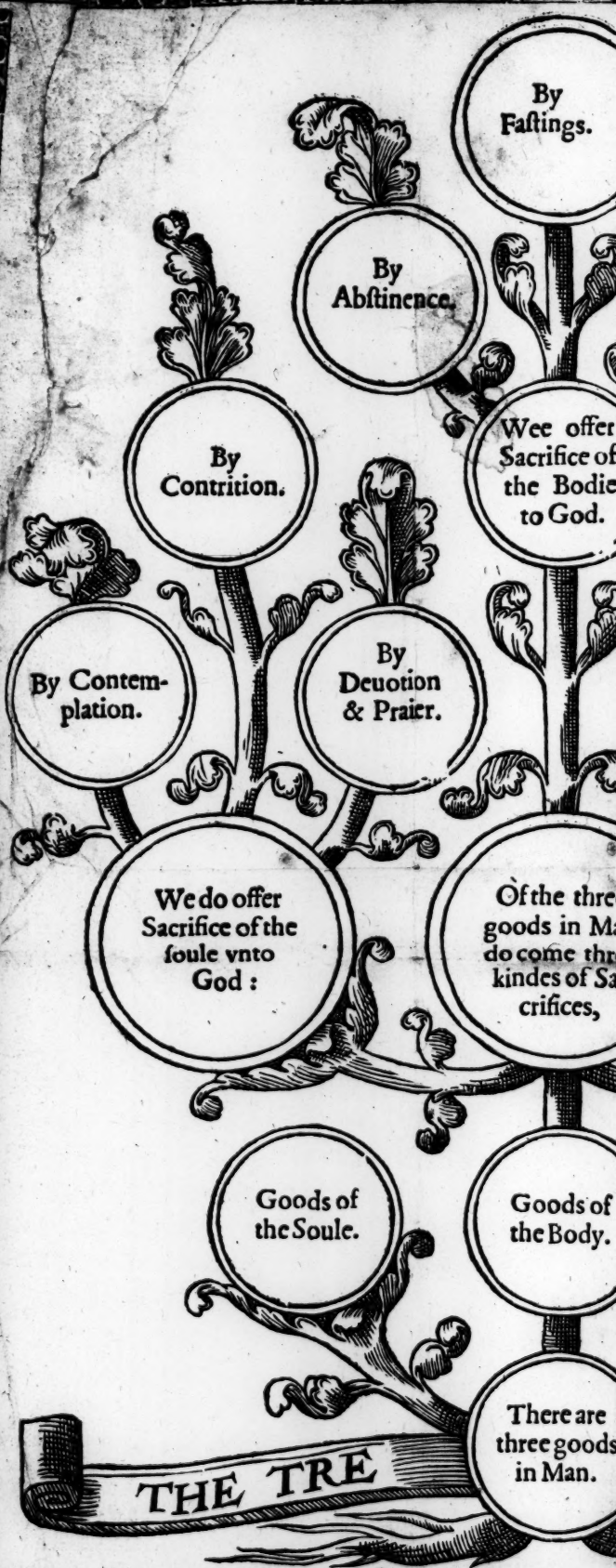
of numbers, doth teach) is the fountain and originall of it self, and like as all things do proceed from God, so do al numbers proceed from vnity, and fall back therinto again: For let vs cast as many numbers together as we list, yet at the last we shall haue but one summe. Thus there still remaineth an infallible vnity. Now among all other numbers we find the number of seuen to containe great misteries. *Aristotle* reporteth, That the ancients named their children the seuenth day after their birth, in the Vniuersity of creatures we find the number of seuen, the skie is guided by seuen plainets, the earth is deuided by seuen climates, the world fulfilleth his course and mans life by seuen ages, the reuolution of Time is finished in seuen daies (the accomplishment vwhereof we call Week.) The sonne of man, as we read in the Reuelation, held the seuen Starres in his right hand, and vwalked betweene the seuen candlestickes: iust seuen hundred men did God reserue, that neuer bowed their knees to *Baal*: neither was the number of *Jobs* seuen sonnes void of a mystery. *Thobis* maketh mention of seuen Angels alwaies in the presence of God. *Zachary* the Prophet likewise maketh mention of the seuen cies of God, looking ouer all the earth. *Pharaoh* in his sleepe saw seuen fat kine, and seuen leane.

leane. The creatures inclosed in *Noahs Arke*,
vvent by seuens. The Reuelation speaketh of
seuen Dragons heads, vvearing Crownes:
Likewise of seuen Angels, bearing the seuen
Vials of Gods vvrath. *Dauid* commanded se-
uen men of the sonnes of *Saule* to be hanged,
as vve may read in the booke of Kings. What
more shall vve speake of the dignity of this se-
uenfold number? All vertues are contracted
into seuen, three Theologall, and foure Cardin-
nall. At the entry into the Temple there vvere
seuen steppes. The hungry multitude vvere
filled vwith seuen loaues. Neither must I o-
mit the seuen gifts of the Holy ghost, the se-
uen orders of the Church, seuen vvorkes of
mercy, the seuenth day which God hallowed
to rest, yet vvill I not speake of the seuen mor-
tall sinnes, vvith sundry other septenaries men-
tioned by the Philosophers and Phisitions.
Of Phisitions, *Valescus de Taranta* in the
Prologue of his *Philonium*, hath gathered
a heape of Septenaries, as also the great and
soueraigne Mathematician *Macrobius*. Sith
therefore our most good and most migh-
tie God hath vouchsafed and graunted so
highlie to grace this seuenfold number, that
the holie Scripture is full thereof, it is not to
be maruailed at therefore, that hee hath also
vvilled

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willed the harmony of this world to be preserved by seven vnities : namely, the vnion Naturall, the vnity Coniugall, the vnity Regular, Parsonall, Essentiall, Ecclesiastical, and the vnity Politicke, vwhereof only in this place vve do intreat. Nowv concerning the same, albeit euery City and Commonweale do consist of many and sundry persons, yet is it requisit that their plurality be reduced to an vnity, that is to say, to one consent and vvill, othervvise, it can inioy no politicall harmony, as it is vvritten in the booke of Iudges, vvhere it is said, And all the host of Israel assembled in the City, euen as it had been but one man, vvith one consent and vvill. If (as vve read in the Gospel) a Kingdome diuided shall decay, it must necessarily ensue, that it must bee preserved by vnion, sith it is pulled downe vvith diuision. The inequality of Cittizens therefore must be vnited, as the picture ensuing doth declare, which also for more ample demonstration, vve haue here set downe.





By
Fastings.

By
Abstinence.

By
Contrition.

Wee offer
Sacrifice of
the Bodie
to God.

By Contem-
plation.

By
Deuotion
& Praier.

We do offer
Sacrifice of the
soule vnto
God :

Of the three
goods in Ma
do come thr
kinds of Sa
crifices,

Goods of
the Soule.

Goods of
the Body.

There are
three goods
in Man.

THE TRE

ags.

By
Martyrdom
for the main-
tenance of the
law, truth, &
iustice.

offer
fice of
Bodie
God.

By Almes
vnto the
poore.

By
Oblations
giuē to the
Church.

By giftes
of charitie
vnto our
neighbor.

the three
in Man
the three
of Sa-
crices,

We doe Sacri-
fice vnto God
of Externall
goods :

ods of
Body.

Externall
Goods.

re are
goods
Man.

OF SACRIFICE

By
Lafayette

By
Lafayette

We offer
the Book
to God.

Continued.

By
Lafayette
& P. A. B.

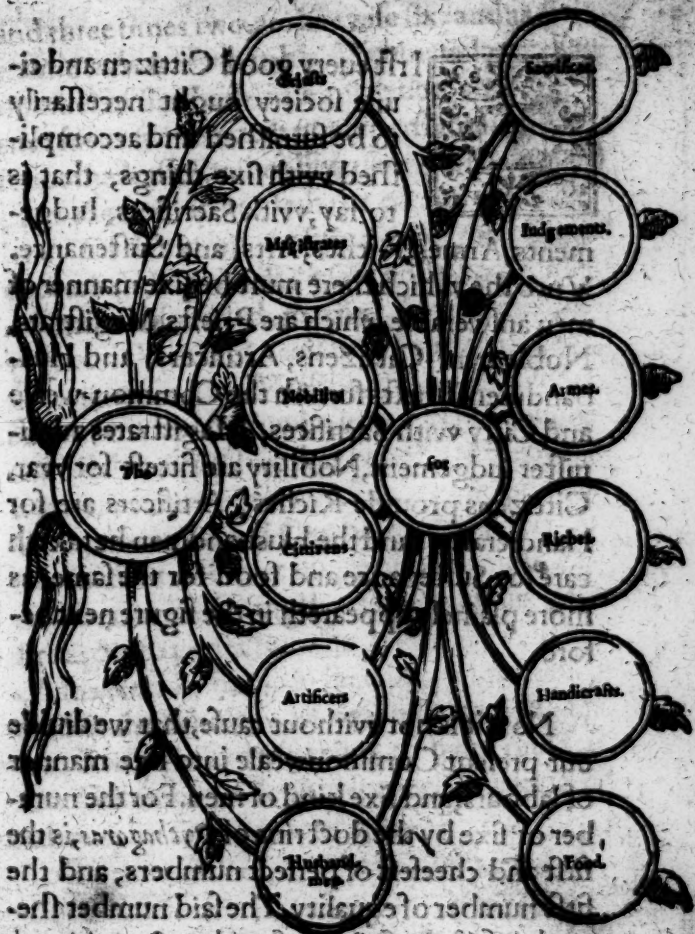
Of the
goods in the
storehouse

of the
storehouse





The Mirror of Politie.





Ist every good Cittizen and ci-
uile society ought necessarily
to be furnished and accompli-
shed wvith sixe things, that is
to say, vwith Sacrifices, Iudge-
ments, Armes, Riches, Arts, and Sustenance.
Vnto the vvhich there must be sixe manner of
men answerable, which are Priests, Magistrates,
Noblemen, Cittizens, Artificers, and Hus-
bandmen: Priests furnish the Common weale
and Citty vwith Sacrifices, Magistrates admi-
nister Iudgement, Nobility are fittest for vvar,
Cittizens prouide Riches, Artificers are for
Handicrafts, and the Husbandman he taketh
care for Sustenance and food for the same, as
more plainly appeareth in the figure next be-
fore.

Now it is not without cause, that we diuide
our present Commonweale into sixe manner
of labours, and sixe kind of men. For the num-
ber of sixe by the doctrine of Pythagoras, is the
first and cheefest of perfect numbers, and the
first number of equality. The said number she-
weth it selfe perfect, forasmuch as six vnities, or
sixe times one, are sixe; and twise three is sixe,

and three times two, are likewise six: and as Bo-
crous Senecius sayth in his Arithmeticke, the
number of six hath an application vnto
twofor as it exceeds thine and superfluous
it is no other least number, but amongst the
parts thereof it holdeth the meane of excel-
lency. Of this number of sixe, (after the an-
cient writers) Cardinall *Cusan*, and *Charles*
Bouill haue discoursed in their Mathematicall
workes. The said *Bouill* hath written thereof
since, imitating his Maister, the learned *Jac-*
obus Faber Stapulensis, who in our time brought
the Mathematicall workes to light. Moreover,
it is not without great reason, if our present
Commonweale and City be made perfect by
sixe number of Citizens, seeing the most ex-
cellent and most mighty God in times past
brought to perfection the yvenerall building
of this worldly house in six daies, within which
space the whole work was fully framed. It is
not then an vnreasonable thing, to have divided
our Commonweale into six necessary kind of
labours by six manner of men.

is the chiefest and best of all the
the bodie, the which we doe call the
by falling, Affluence, or in suffering Mar-
to come to the end of his Lawe, Justice, or
Truth: The third is of outward goods,
when



The Miracles of Religion

When we offer unto him that which hee
 hath bestowed vpon vs, or when we give
 him the poore and lend vnto our neighbors in
 charity: And of as much as we are able
 that we should demonstrate to all others
 and edified with it to great force. We have
 therein announced the Tree of the three Goods
 belonging vnto man, and verable vnto the three
 estates of the world before the world began
 and be-
 That Priests and Priests are necessary in
 every good Commonwealth, and well gover-
 ned City, as appears by that (as I haue
 said) that there hath been any Nation lo-
 rude, barbarous, or farre from civility, that
 they haue not acknowledged some god, and
 which hath bin offered to sacrifice, and that
 consequently haue not had Priests for the ex-
 ecution of due and proper ceremonies. More-
 over, as we haue had these Lawes that is
 to say, the Law of Nature, the Law Written,
 and the Law of Grace. Likewise in every one
 of the said Lawes, we read that there haue ben
 Sacrifices and Priests. In the Law of Nature,
 as Melchisedech was the first Priest, in the Law
 Written, as Aaron, in the Law of Grace, (vnder
 which we live) Iesus Christ. The Egyptians
 who

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who use Accusations, and constitute the breath of
men of the world, and the Christian Church
like other Nations, are counted barbarous
by the Grecians, Romans, and
other Nations, and are called
Priests, as may be seen by the
Roman History, and the
The Grecians, which were a long time
Masters of the whole world before the Roman
Empire, had Sacrifices, Priests, proper and pe-
ticular Ceremonies, as appeared by the
Pellus, Dionysus, and others, and
others. The Romans, who succeeded the Gre-
cians, had like wise Sacrifices, pro-
per Ceremonies, the which were first in-
stituted by Romulus the first King of the Latins,
who began to rule the Latins, which then
extended to some little Country & Religion
of gods, although some do say, That before
Romulus had brought into the Latins
Shipping and Religion of the gods, the
other Sacrifices, or to say better, Superstitions,
and Diabolical Inventions, as the worshipping
and Ceremony of the Lupercal, the worshipping
of Faunus, the Vestal Virgins, and others
since instituted by Numa, the second
King of the Romans, the Prince of La-
tins, who, as the Latins have
only

Sacri-

Sacrifices, made as well by *Aeneas*, *Dido* Queen of Carthage, by King *Latinus*, and *Euander*, as by others, following *Homer* the father of learning, *Macrobius* likewise in his Banquets and Saturnial feasts, reciteth many things of Sacrifices, and diuerse sorts of sacrificing of those of times past. Priests in euery good Commonweale and Citty ought to haue the chiefeest and most honourable place, and ought to be honored and reuerenced of all: and when they are such as they ought to be (as *Saint Paule* saith, writing to *Timothie*) they deserue to haue double honour, especially vwhen they read or preach the Gospell, and vwhen as their vvorks and manner of liuing are conformable and agreeable to their doctrine or preachings. On the contrary (as *Saint Hierome* saith in his Commentaries vpon *Ezechiel*) great is the dignity of Priests, but as great is their fall if they be wicked. If Priests and Prelates do reioice at their aduancement, they ought to feare to fall: for the ioy of their exalting is not so great, as is the sorrow for their subuersion. Let then Prelates and Priests of our Commonweale bee very carefull, that they sit not in the chaire of Scorners, whereof the Kingly Prophet *Dauid* speaketh in his first Psalme: and besides, that God at the last generall iudgement, doe

not say and reprove them, That they haue
sate in their Pontificall seats, as in times past
the Scribes and Pharisees did in the seat of
Moyes.



THe second necessarie
thing in euery Cōmon-
weale and Citty, are
Iudgements, and so conse-
quently Magistrates vvhich
exercise them. The exercise
of Iudgements, and autho-
rity of Magistrates, is a po-
wer from God, appointed

vnto man, vwho in this vworld doe hold the
place of him to yeeld and giue right vnto eue-
ry one. Therefore Magistrates in their Iudge-
ments ought to imitate God, as neere as man
through his frailenesse may. For this cause it is
vvritten in the first of Deuteronomy: Iudge
according vnto iustice, for euery iudgement
proceedeth of God. The first ordinance of
Magistrates vvas made by the most excellent
and most mighty God, as it appeareth in the
sixteenth of Deuteronomy before alledged,
vwhere God said vnto *Moyes*. Thou shalt ap-
point Iudges and Magistrates ouer my peo-
ple in all the gates of the Citty, vwhere it is to



bevynderstood, that in times past Magistrates had their seats and consistories at the gates of Citties, as the fittest and most open place; the which hath since been reduced into the body of the said Citties. Saint *Ambrose* a most learned Doctour of the Church, in his booke of Offices, sayth, That the Office of euery good and true Magistrate consisteth in four points, the which for more plainenesse we haue Philosophically drawne forth, as appeareth in the page before.

But a Magistrate cannot be called a true Magistrate, except it be by the right administration of Iustice, which (to make their Citty and Commonweale long to continue and flourish) ought to be distributed into seuen parts, as it may plainly appeare by this ensuing pourtraict, vvherein is contained all the whole summe of distributiu Iustice, gathered out of many good Authours, as well Diuines as morall Philosophers.

After we haue seene the distribution of Iustice, it remaineth that wee doe regard how many waies the same is corrupted. Magistrates are corrupted by fear: for oftentimes fearing to displease the Prince, or a great Lord, the Magistrate

gistrate committeth iniustice ; as *Pilat* did in condemning Iesus Christ to death , for feare of displeasing the Emperour *Tiberius*. Magistrates are also corrupted through loue and fauour : as *Herode* the Tetrarch vvas, vvho vvith foolish loue to please a girle vvich daunced before him, condemned *John Baptist* to death, although he knew that he vvvas a holy and iust man . They are likewise corrupted through hate: as vvvas the high Priest, vvho through hate condemned *Saint Paule* to bee buffeted and beaten, although he had not deserved it. Moreover, Magistrates are corrupted vvith gold, siluer, and other gifts : as the sonnes of the good Prophet *Samuel* vvere, vvho through gifts corrupted iustice . Besides all this, Magistrates are sometimes corrupted by flattery : as vvvas the great King and Monarch of the East *Assuerus*, vvho through the flattery of *Haman* condemned all the Iewes to death, and to be vtterly rooted out. Othervvhiles, Princes are likewise corrupted vvith too much compassion vvich they haue of the offenders, as vvvas *Saul* the first King of the Iewes , vvho through extraordinary compassion, spared the life of king *Agag* being taken in battaile, vvhom God had commanded him to put to death so soone as he should be taken, the vvchich he did not. Ma-

gistrates doe also peruert iudgement through ignorance of diuine and humane Lawes : and it is no matuaile although ignorant Magistrats doe oftentimes erre, seeing that ignorance is the mother of error. But amongst al the means of corrupting Magistrates, the greatest and that vvhich is of most force, are gifts and presents. And therefore rightly did the vvise Poet *Ouid* say, That gifts doe appease and bind both gods and men: the vvhich (as concerning men) is apparently manifested vnto vs by the vvorthy example of the Patriarke *Jacob*, vvho vvith gifts mollified and appeased the vyrath of his brother *Esau*, vvho marched in battel to meet vvith him, being bent vtterly to destroy him. If vve doe call to memory *Ethnicke* examples, *Plutarch* in his *Apothegmes*, rehearseth how *Philip* King of *Macedon*, father of *Alexander* the great, besieged a strong castle seated vpon the top of a Mountaine, vnto the vvhich he sent scouts and espials to see on vvhat side the said castle might bee most pregnable : the scouts made answer that the Mountaine vvas so steepe, high, and strong, that it vvas impossible to climbe vp vnto it : and besides, those vvhich kept the same, vv ere couragious and valiant men. Whereunto the said *Philip* answered, That he iudged it nothing impossible to
take

take the said castle vpon the toppe of that strong and very high Mountaine, if that an Asse laden with gold, might ascend vp to the top therof: Hereby giuing to vnderstand, that there is nothing so vvell fortified, or so strong, vvhich may not bee woon by gold. The Poets (vwho vnder their fictions, haue shadowed apparent verities) did saine, That *Iupiter* being amarous of the faire *Danae*, could neuer attain vnto his purpose, vntill he had turned himselfe into a shower of gold. Wherefore *Horace* said, That although yron doe tame gold and siluer, yea and all other mettals besides, yet neuertheless gold abateth the edge of yron, and passeth through the middest of most strong and armed souldiours. Moreouer, it is no maruell if amongst those vvhich liue in euery commonweale, and in all citties, that Magistrats are necessary, especially since the Poets doe saine, that in hell amongst the shadowes of the dead and decessed, there be Magistrates; to wit, *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Eacus*, vwho do there exercise their iudgements.



THe third needful thing in euery good Commonweale and City are Armes, and Nobility vvhich haue the managing thereof. Armes, as *Varro* saith, are all warlike instruments, as vvell to assaile our enemies, as to defend vs from the assaults & enterprises of them, Whereunto the *Ciuiilian Cains* agreeth. In euery vvell ordered citty and commonweale, Armes and Weapons are necessary, as *Aristotle* saith in his seuenth booke of Politickes, and *Plutarke* in his most eloquent booke of ciuile Constitution.

The Mirrour of Policie.



H h

Armes

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Armes doe alter and differ according to the difference and nature of climates: For as Saint *Hierome* saith, Euery Nation and Prouince aboundeth in his sence and fancie. Some one vseth long vveapons, others short. The exercise and vse Armes, War, and Battailles, of all antiquity haue been committed to the Nobility. And Nobility (as *Aristotle* vvriteth in his second book of his Rethoricke) is a vvorthinesse proceeding from our ancestors, and an honor comming from auncient discent.

Boetius Senærin sayth, That Nobility is a praise or commendation vvhich proceedeth from the deserts of our auncient progenitors. The ciuile Doctours doe set downe in the title of Dignities, in the twelfth book, many kinds of gentry: but to speake the truth, both according to Diuinity and Philosophy, there is no true Nobility but that vvhich proceedeth from vertue and good behauiour. Nobtensse of stocke and discent is a vaine and foolish bragging, if it be not seconded by vertue: and one of the greatest vvhich vve see at this day is, that some Noblemen of our time trusting only vvnto their discent, do thinke themselues to be noble vvithout vertue. At such kind of fond and
fai-

fained Nobility without vertue, doth *Lucius* the Greeke Oratour rightly scoffe in many of his most eloquent Dialogues : of Latine Poets, *Horace* in many of his speeches and Epistles, *Iuuenall* in his Satires, *Claudian* in his Panegirickes. But before all these abouesaid, the Prophet *Malachie* writeth against such foolish Nobility without vertue, in these words: Is not one god the father of all? as if (according to the saying of the Stoicke Philosopher *Seneca*) Nobility comming from our ancestours, the honor thereof appertaineth rather vnto them, then vnto vs. *Salust* writting against *Cicero*, vpbraideth the said *Cicero*, for that he was descended of the Arpinates, people of the basest and lowest condition; and that he was extracted of a noble and auncient stocke: vnto vvhom *Cicero* answered no lesse learnedly then eloquently, That it was true, that *Salust* was descended of noble race, but he was the first vvhich had debased the Nobility of his house, and that the nobility of his ancestors ended in him, through his vices and leudnesse : and as for himselfe, he confessed that he was extracted from the Arpinates people of obscure condition, but yet he was the first Gentleman of his stocke, and *Salust* the last of his. But to the end that men

through pride or vaine boasting of the Nobility of their stock, should not esteeme of themselves more then other men. When God appointed the first Kings, he chose them out of poore and meane houses, as it appeareth by *Saule* the first King of the Jews, vvho vvvas chosen King in keeping and driuing his fathers Asses: *David* vvvas likewise chosen King, being a Shepherd, and the least of all his brethren. In the Law of grace Christ our Sauour did chuse for Pastours and Prelates of his Church, *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, & other Apostles vvvhich vvvere simple mechanicall men, and poore Fishers. Moreouer, euen as the Thorne and Rose doe spring from one Root, in like sort doe Noblemen and Clownes come of one and the same mould. And forasmuch as the Thorne is sharpe and pricketh, it is reiected, and contrariwise the Rose is held in the hand for the good sent and sweetnesse thereof: Likewise, he vvvhich by vices maketh himselfe a villaine, ought to be reiected as a pricking Thorne, and he vvvhich by cōmendable vertues maketh himselfe odiferous and sweet, ought to bee esteemed and prized as the Rose, and accounted noble, from vvwhat race soeuer he be descended. *Esau* and *Iacob* vvvere brethren, and of one womb, and yet
one

one of them vvas noble by vertue, and the other ignoble through vice. The like vvas in *Titus* and *Domitian*, brethren, and sonnes of the Romane Emperor *Vespasian*: For *Titus* was by the Senat named the Delight of the world, and *Domitian* through his execrable Tyrannies, vvas named the Monster of human kind. The stocke and linage maketh not a man noble or ignoble, but vse, education, instruction, and bringing vp, maketh him so: for when a man from infancie is instructed in good manners, all the rest of his life hee shall bee inclined vnto acts of Nobility and Vertue. And on the contrary, if he be euilly instructed in his yong yeares, he vwill haue as long as hee liueth such manners as are barbarous, strange, and full of all villany.

Vpon this matter *Plutarch* saith, That *Lycurgus* the Lacedemonian Lawgiuer, desiring to reduce his Citizens vnto ciuility, & to induce them to bee carefull to instruct their children from their infancy, in good & laudable manners: to shew them a plain demonstration thereof, he took from the dam two yong greyhound whelpes, the one vwhereof he caused to bee exercised in hunting (according to his naturall inclination) and the other in the

Kitchen. After they were great and throughly growne, he brought them vnto a place in the Citty before the Cittizens, and let goe a liue Hare which he had in his sleeue, he had also brought a pot full of flesh and pottage. The greyhound which was vsed to hunting, followed and ranne after the Hare, the other which had been brought vp in the Kitchen, went to lick the pot, and smell the saueur of the flesh, hauing no desire to follow after the hare as his fellow did. Then *Lycurgus* said, Behold Cittizens how much good education and instruction in our infancy profiteth: These two greyhounds came both of one damme, and you see that the one as being noble, hath left pot, flesh, and pottage, to follow the Hare, shewing the courage wherein he is exercised; and the other degenerating from his nature and kind hath left the Hare for the saueur of the pot, according to his bringing vp, euen so will your children doe: For if in their youth they be well instructed and taught, they will shew themselves noble, and of good behauiour; and on the contrary, if they be wickedly trained vp, they will alwaies be villaines leaud and vicious. But concluding this matter, Nobility and Magistrates in euery Common-weale, must

must bee carefull that the children of the City may bee as vvell perticularly as generally vvell taught and instructed both in manners and in Learning, and that by good and discreet Maisters, no lesse honest then learned, if they vwill preserue the Nobility of their auncestors vnto all posterities.

THe fourth necessary thing in euery Commonweale, are Riches, and consequently citizens, vvhich are vsually the possessours thereof. And that is because they are aunciently grounded in the City, hauing rents, reuenues, and possessions. Wherefore there is great reason vwhy they should be called the props and pillars of the City, and foundations of the Commonweale. That Riches are necessary in the City, it appeareth by the saying of *Cicero*, vvhoe deemeth that they are the sinewes of Warre. For euen as by the sinewes euery humane body hath feeling and motion, (as the Phisitions and Anathomists doe affirme) in like sort in the body politicke, by the sinowes thereof, to
vvit,

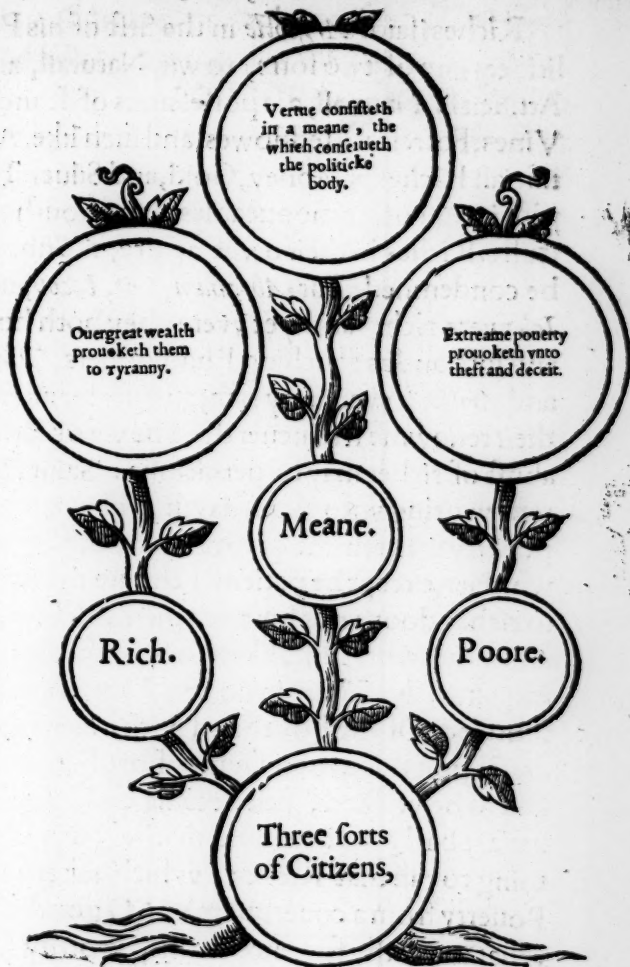


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vvit, Money, and Riches, it hath feeling and motion to assemble Souldiours to defend the liberty thereof: thevvhich could not be done otherwise, and especially in these daies, wherein he vvhich hath Gold and Siluer ynough, shall find more Souldiours then he vvvillingly vould. Then so it is, that in extremity and necessity of warre, the principall Citizens (as being most able and best grounded) ought to make the cheefest preparation to defend their Cittie and the liberty thereof.

Aristotle in his fourth booke of Politickes, sets downe

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Riches (saith *Aristotle* in the first of his Politickes) are of two sorts, to wit, Naturall, and Artificiall. Naturall, are possessions of Lands, Vines, Forrests, Meddowes, and such like. Artificiall Riches is Money, Gold, and Siluer, Tapestrie, and other moouable, and household stuffe. Riches in their owne nature, are not to be condemned: For *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Iacob*, and *Iob* were rich, and yet were they both holy and iust: and as touching Philosophers, *Plato* and *Aristotle* were very rich, and yet for all that their renowme shal neuer die. The vse or rather abuse of riches may be pernicious: *Saint Hierome* writing vnto *Saluia* sayth, That euen as pouerty maketh the poore man nothing the worthier, except he patiently endure the same, so riches dooth not hurt rich men, vnlesse they abuse the same. The like also saith the most eloquent *Chrysostome* in an excellent Homely, intituled, Of the Poore and Rich. *Saint Ambrose* vpon this matter sayth, That Riches are said to be vicked, not because Gold and Siluer are bad, but because that it is a vicked thing to call that Riches, which taketh not Pouerty from a couetous man. O good God what a worthy sentence is this, worthy (as *Iob* saith) to be grauen with an yron penne in Lead or Stone. Here vpon *Saint Bernard* (a
man

man of great contemplation,saith, That Gold and Siluer , as touching the Soule, is neither good nor bad;& that the vse of them is good, but their abuse is pernicious. Moreouer,Saint *Gregory* sayth in his morall Commentaries vpon *Iob*, That vve may truly call those Riches, vvhich doe enrich vs vvith Vertue, and none els.*Palladius* a Greeke Authour,in a most learned Epigram saith, That Gold is the sonne of sorrow and care,and that he vvich hath it not, liueth in great misery ; and he vvich hath it, keepeth and possesseth it in great feare and care.*Virgil* in the third of his *Aeneidos* tearmeth Gold an holy hunger . *Ouid* in the first of his *Metamorphosis* , called Gold and Riches the roots of all mischeefe. *Tibullus*,*Propertius*, *Horace*, *Iuuenall*, and all the Poeticall troupe doe blame Gold , as the spring and fountaine of all euill . For this cause the Cittizens and vvealthiest of the Citty,ought not for all their great riches, despise the poore and inferiour citizens,as labourers and mechanicall men , as *Demosthenes* the Prince of Grecian eloquence, hath expressed in his oration for *Cresiphontus*. In this sence when a man disdaineth the pouertie of another, he is quite void of wit, for euery mā vvich thinketh himselfe assured of fortune, is like vnto him that banqueteth and maketh

great cheare in a house, which cannot last vntil the euening, or next morning.

Finally, *Iffocrates* the excellent Grecian orator, writing to *Demonicus*, saith, That a wise mā neuer ought to disdaine nor cast another in the teeth with his hard fortune, for as much hangeth ouer his owne head. *Cicero* likewise forbiddeth to flout a man ordained to calamity, vvhich is a good lesson for all possessors of riches.

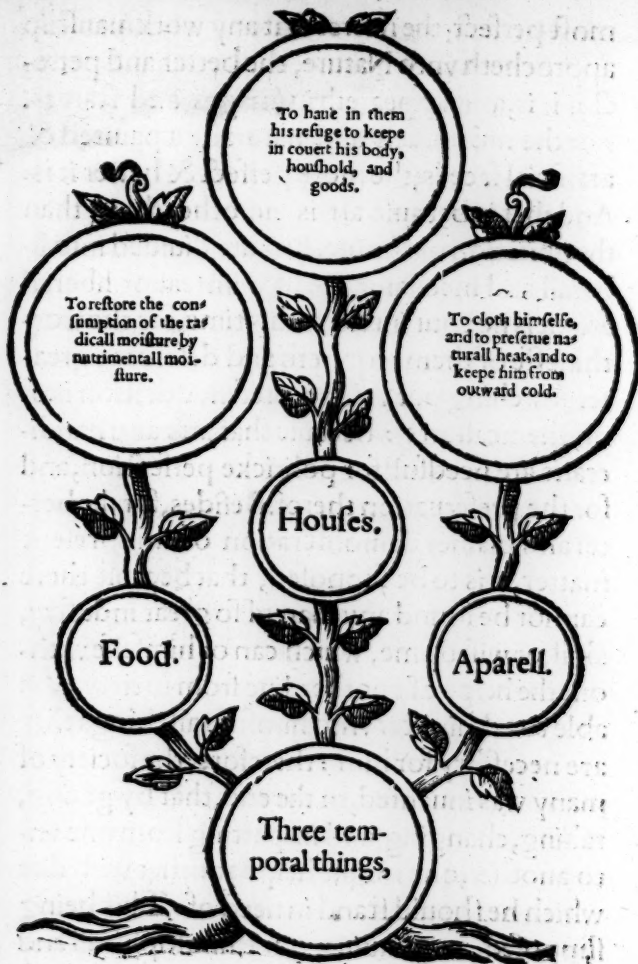


THe fifth necessarie thing in euery Cōmonweale and City are the handicraftsmen, and so consequently Artificers. Art is an vse to vvork by true reason, as *Aristotle* saith in the sixt of his *Ethickes* : or

els art is the knowledge of a certain thing gotten by practise, erudition, or reason, tending to the necessary vses of mans life; after the definition of *Diomedes*. Of arts, some consist in speculation, other in action. Speculation is that which we call Theoricke, that is to say, Speculatiue. Action we call practicke, which is as much to say as actiue. Of art, is Artificer deniued: and forasmuch as next vnto God, Nature is a thing most

most perfect; the neerer that any workmanship approacheth vnto Nature, the better and perfecter it is, as it appeareth in images and statues. For the more liuely and naturally a painted & artificial face is, the more perfect & better it is: And that is, because art is no other thing than the imitation of Nature. Arts are diuided into liberall and mechanickall: To intreat of liberall arts, it is not our intent at this time, for the worthinesse of them requireth and deserueth greater searching out. Our present question is of mechanickall arts: because that arts and handicrafts are needfull for politicke perfection, and for the preseruatiō therof. Besides, for the better and plainer demonstration of this present matter, it is to be supposed, that because there cannot be found any man of so great industry, skill, or wisdom, which can of himselfe without the helpe of another, liue from society, & is able to administer vnto himselfe all things that are necessary for him: therefore the society of many was inuented, to the end, that by giuing, taking, changing, and imparting from one vnto another, one might helpe another with that which he should stand in need of. This being supposed, continuing our Philosophicall and plain demonstration, I say that euery man hath necessarily need of

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As for the first, vvhich is Food, a man cannot in any sort liue vvithout it, the vvich he hath in common with the brute beasts, who are as ill able as man to liue without food and sustenance. For naturall heat doth continually consume our radical moisture, as the light consumeth the oyle of the Lampe. It is necessary then to shunne death, which is the whole consumption of radical moisture; that vve doe in steed thereof make a supplie of nutrimentall moisture, as Bread, Drinke, Meat, and other Sustenance, as all the whole of the cheefe and excellent Phisitions, as well of the Grecians & Arabians, as the Latines do affirme. The Husbandmen, Butchers, Fishers, Victuallers, Bakers, Vinteners, Cookes, and all other mechanicall men doe prouide and dresse food for the Commonweale, seruing and purueying the Communaltie vvith victuals.

The second needfull thing for man is Houses, perticular to euery one: and in generall, the Wals & Fortresses of the city. A House, as *Aristotle* saith in the first of his Politickes, is a daily societie: and to speake more properly, a House is a building made to dwell in safely apart by ones selfe, as well to defend himselfe, his family, and goods, as to resist the wrongs, as well of wicked men, as of the time: [Such as excessive
heats

heats are vnder the influence of the dog starre, vwhen as *Horace* saith, The heauenly Lion is in his greatest fury : or to vvithstand the wind, raine, haile, and cold , vwhen *Aquarius* (as the said Poet vvriteth) troubleth and altereth the time.] Furthermore, the Ciuilians haue vvritten, That a House is a sure refuge for euery one. Some doe build and set vp Houses and other buildings, by the Art of Architecture, the which is done by Masons, Carpenters, Geometricians, Lockesmiths, Ioiners, and others vsing caruing. The Citie likewise, as well for ornament, as for defence, hath need of Wals, Castles, Bulwarkes, Ramparts, and other Fortresses, the vvwhich cannot be made vvithout Architecture and Masonrie.

The third needfull thing for man , is Apparel to cloth and couer himselfe , as vvell vwhen he vvaketh , as vwhen he sleepeth ; and preserue his naturall heat from outward cold. Vnder this vvord Raiment, all Apparell, as well of Silke, Wool, Linnen, Cotton, as of other stufte, is contained. The Merchaunts, Mercers, Drapers, Tailors, Hosiers, and such like, as Brokers and others, doe furnish stufte for apparel. Besides the vvwhich things, man dooth also need (to preserue his health, or to recouer it, if he haue lost it) Phisitions, Chirurgions, Apothecaries,

caries, and other remedies : although that (as *Plato* saith, and *Pluturke* in his Treatise of the preservation of health) the cheefe Phisicke to maintaine long health, is to keepe a good diet and rule in eating and drinking : for those vvhich neither feede nor drinke excessiue, shall not bee often sicke. Man likewise to defend his liberty, (the vvhich is of more worth then anie richesse) bodie, goods, and family, hath need of vveapons and armour, as vvell offensiue as defensiue : The vvhich Armourers, Fourbushers, Cutlers, and such like doe furnish. Man also needeth Horses, the vvhich must bee bridled, sadled, shod, and barbed in time of Warre: vvhich things Sadlers, Spurriers, Farriers, and such like doe furnish the Cittie vvithall. Wherefore it appeareth, that vvithout handicrafts and craftsmen, no good Common-weale nor cittie can either assemble, or bee assembled, as *Aristotle* concludeth in diuerse places of his Politickes. Moreouer, Magistrates ought to haue great care that Artificers bee not idle through lasinesse, or by negligence cease from their labour, and much lesse also to vse any fraud in their vvorkes. And therein to follow the example of the Indian Philosophers, the Gymnosophists,

who do punish the vice of sluggishnesse, more then any other. For they were accustomed at the houre of dinner, not to giue any meat to their children, or seruants, vnlesse they perceiued that they had deserued to be fed by their trauaile or industrie. Amongst them the which was found, and of age to worke, and did not worke, did not eat; the which did necessarily constrainethem to labour. The Ants, little Bees, and silly small beasts, (if we will learne by them) doe shew a manifest and plaine example, labouring in the summer to nourish themselves in winter : teaching vs that we ought to take paines in the summer of youth to maintaine vs in the winter of age. *Draco* the famous Law-maker, whose Lawes were so seuer, that it was said, they were rather writtē with blood then inke, condemned those to death which would not labour. Would to God that now in our Commonweale, there were such, or the like Law, as was amongst the *Egyptians*; wherein there was no inhabitant, whose name was not registred in the Magistrates booke, to know whereof he liued, and how he was able to maintaine, as well himselfe, as his familie. The said inhabitants were many times in
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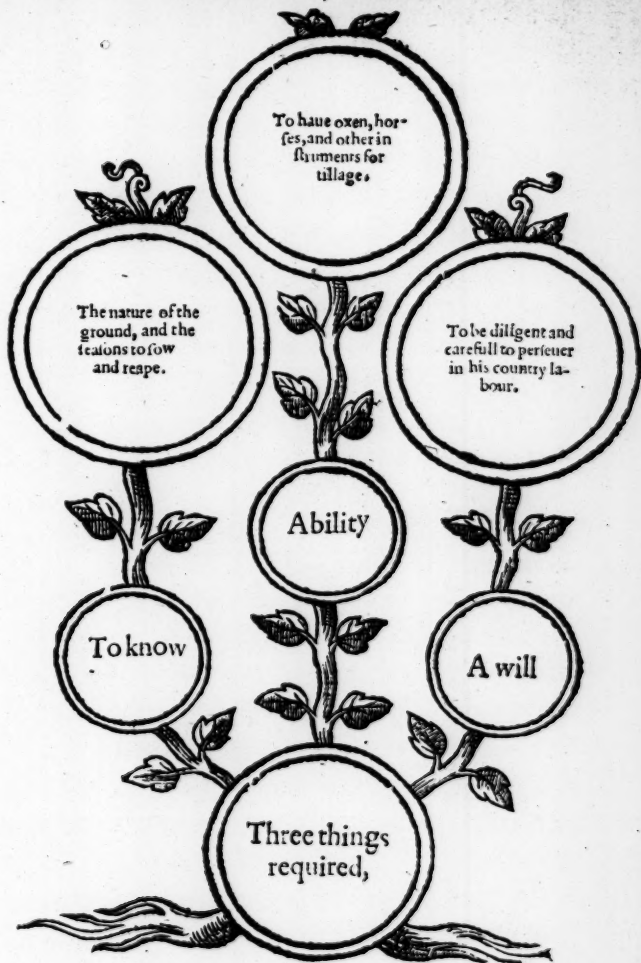
the yeare examined what they gained and received, to see if their getting and spending were alike: And then the Magistrate might easily iudge if any of the inhabitants did live by their industrie and trade, or els by theft; and the vagabonds (vwho are cōmonly the plague of the Cittie) easily knowne, and so consequently driuen and banished out of the Commonweale.



THe sixt and last necessary thing in euerie Common-vveale is Food, & so consequently Husbandmen; vvhich although they be of lesse reputation then the rest of the Citties, yet are they as much profitable: For the

belly can endure no delay, and as the old Proverbe saith, The belly hath no eares. The bodily sustenance of the Citty commeth from the labour of the Husbandmen: The dutie of the vvhich is to liue in their simplicitie, and not to meddle with anie weightie matters, but to doe their endeuer in tilling the ground. This country life hath ben so much commended & esteemed in times past, as many good Authors both Grecians and Latines haue left vvorthish books thereof vnto the posteritie.

In euerie Countriman that will be called a good Husbandman, are





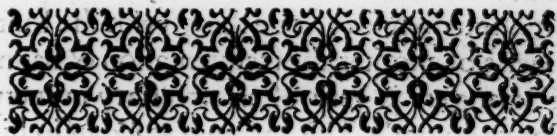
The Mirrour of Policie.

Tillage consisteth in four kinds of ground, viz, in fields, vnderwoods, forrests, and vvilow plots: in orchards, vines, oliue, and other fruitfull trees : in pasturage, as meddowes: in gardens of pleasure, vvhich roses, lillies, violers and such sweet flowers grow : in kitchen gardens, vvhich there are coleworts, beets, and other hearbs. Husbandry and Tillage is commendable, forasmuch as it bringeth vnto the Husbandman commodity vwith delight, and profite vwith pleasure. The commodity and profite is manifest: For a good Country householder is at all times provided vwith bread, drinke, flesh, eggs, milke, butter, cheese, fruit, wood, faggots, hauins, and all without buying or laying mony out of his purse, as very excellently *Cicero* saith in his booke of old age. The pleasure is inestimable to the man that knoweth, and vwill behold the workes of Nature. Moreouer, a Cherry or an Apple gathered vwith thy hand from a Cherytree or Appletree of thine owne planting, vwill be more pleasing vnto thee, and better content thee, then one hundred bought in their steed. For the Country pleasure is not knowne, but to the fauourers of *Minerua*, that is, to men of contemplation. For Ciuilians and Lawyers do nothing regard

regard the Country pleasure : and that vvhich all diuine and humane Philosophers doe account the cheefest benefite in this vworld, that is, the quietnesse of mind, the vvhich is sooner found in the Country, then in the City; the fauourers of the Law doe esteeme to be vice, applying all their vvit and endeouour to trouble the common peace by sutes, vvhithout the vvhich most part of them vvhould die vvhith hunger. And because they haue no other trade to sustaine their liues, they doe daily procure the Citizens and inhabitants vnto discord and dissention, vvhich is one of the horriblest plagues that can be in the Commonvveale. Moreouer, euery man of sound iudgement dooth know, That in the country the commodity of the foure elements is found to be greater then in cities and townes. As for fire, a man may vvarme himselfe better in the country, by reason of the commodity of vvhoods and forests, for the aire is more cleare & more wholesome there then in citties, for the Sunne which (as *Aristotle* and *Pliny* do affirme) is the soueraine purifier, spreadeth his beames from the East vnto the West vvhithout any hinderance at all either of houses or buildings vvhewerewith cities are pestered, so as hee vvhich vvhill there haue

haue the Sunne to shine in his house, must stay for the circular perambulation thereof. And there are manie houses in Citties to be seene, that are so pestered and choked vp one vvith the other, that the Sunne doth sildome or neuer shine on them. The vvinds also, specially the Northerne, can neuer blow so freely there, as in the Country, because that the neerenesse of the houses and buildings doe hinder it : so that by all reason the aire can neuer be so sweet and pleasing as in the country. If it vv ere as familiar vvith vs, as the Southwind is, our climate vvould be farre more vvholesome. The Southerne vvind, as concerning the operations that it effecteth vvith vs, is vvhole and moist, and so consequently corruptible, and the father of putrifaction, as *Plinie* saith in the second of his naturall History. This bad and vnvvholesome Southerne vvind vv as by *Virgil* and *Ouid* called rainie, by *Boetius* troublesome, by *Horace* leaden, because that when it bloweth, it maketh the body heauie and bourdenous. *Saint Hierom* calleth it the butler or pourer forth of vvater, because it commonly bringeth rainie. In the country likewise at such time as the dog starre by the furie of his heat and drought vveakeneth our bodies, and maketh our spirits heauy, when the Sunne is lodged with the Lion, we

find more coolenesse there then we doe in cities and townes. As for vvater, the Fountaines, Riuters, and Brookes of the Country doe refresh and delight vs as much or more then any other thing. And concerning the earth, the fruitfulnessse thereof, yea all the secrets of Nature are plainly shewed vnto vs in the country, vvhich are hidden from vs vvhen vve remain in Cities. Lastly (as *Cicero* saith in his Offices, and in his booke of Old age) there vvvas neuer any man of good capacity vvhich hath not preferred (as vvell for the health of body, as for the recreation and quietnesse of mind) the country before the city, and the Husbandry labour before the Citie life; for vvhich cause many Romane Emperors haue in times past forsaken and left their Pallaces, Capitols, Triumphant Arches, Theatres, Amphitheaters, Baths, Colloesses, Pyramides, and all other gorgeous and magnificent buildings, to withdraw themselves into the country, there vvith their owne hands to plant Trees, Orchards, and Gardens: as vve read of *Dioclesian* the Emperour, and others, rehearsed by *Valerius*.



Of Aliens, Strangers, and Pilgrimes,
and how they ought to bee vsed in euery
good Commonweale.



HAuing finished and ended the harmony of the politicke bodie, by six sorts of Citizens, thereunto necessarily requisite: it resteth now, that I doe perticularly discourse of Strangers, Aliens, and Pilgrimes, vwho although they bee none of the bodie of the Commonweale and Cittie, yet are they abiding therein for a season. Strangers ought to be receaued courteously, so that they come into the Cittie vpon some honest cause, and that they bring profite. The conference and conuersing vwith Strangers and Aliens is oftentimes very profitable for the Commonweale for the trafficke of Merchaundise. And in as much as Nature would not distribute all her benefites vnto one place alone, but part and deuide them, giuing vnto one climate

that which wanteth in another, recompens-
ing the barrennes of one thing with the fruit-
fulnesse of another: the frequentation & haunt
of Strangers is very often necessary in euery
Commonweale. The Indians (as *Virgil* in his
Georgiques saith) doe send vnto vs Iuory, the
Sabians Incense, the Calibes Iron and Steele,
and so in like sort from diuerse countries, sun-
dry things are sent. In our daies from Calicut,
(a Land newly found out vnder the Antartick
Pole) Brasil, Ebany, and Guaiacum is brought
vnto vs. The Englishmen doe send vnto other
countries their cloths, and in stead thereof they
bring home Wines and other commodities,
whereof they are deprived by the rigour of
their climate, which is too cold. Notwithstan-
ding, it is not good nor fit to admit Strangers
vnto secret counsell amongst the Cittizens,
especially in matters of vvar, for very great in-
conuenience might ensue thereof, nor yet to
suffer any great multitude of Straungers in
the citie. It was the destruction of the Troi-
ans, vwho admitted the Achaians into their ci-
tie: and of the Bizantines. We read in Exodus,
That the Israelites robbed the Egyptians of
their Gold and Siluer, amongst vvhome they
had liued the space of foure hundred yeares.
The Athenians established a law, wherein they
in-

inhibited al strangers from dancing or feasting
in the common theatre, vnder paine of a hundred
land drams of Siluer. For they could not thinke
Strangers worthy of that benefit that was re-
ferred onely to home borne Cittizens: as
Plutarch hath written in the life of *Phocion*.
It hath also beene questioned whether Strangers
not at all be admitted to some Office in the
Commonweale. Some doe maintaine that such
Magistrates as haue the moſt Empire (that is
to ſay, that are incluſiuely to giue ſentence of
death) ought to be ſtrangers, for in caſe a citi-
zen iudge giue ſentence of death againſt a citi-
zen, it breedeth more ſpight and enuy then if
a ſtranger had done it. Moreouer, it is to bee
prefumed that a citizen iudge, or Magiſtrate,
wil ſhew more fauour to a guilty citizen, wher-
by the tranſgreſſion of cittizens ſhall for the
moſt part eſcape vvithout puniſhment, and ſo
might be the cauſe of the ouerthrow of the ci-
ty or commonweale: and in this regard, euen
to this day many citties and communalties of
Italy do chuſe into ſuch offices of Magiſtracie,
ſtrangers and ſorreiners. Others of the contra-
ry opinion do alledge, that in ſuch honors offi-
ces and dignities of a cittie, the originarie citi-
zens are to be preferred before ſtrangers: and
ſo do we find it alwaies to haue been obſerued

